THE URBAN HERITAGE MANAGEMENT PARADIGM:

CHALLENGES FROM LUCKNOW, AN EMERGING INDIAN CITY

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THE URBAN HERITAGE MANAGEMENT PARADIGM:

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Sites and landscapes of cultural and historical significance are increasingly at risk in urban India. In emerging cities that are now experiencing an industrial and housing boom, this risk is most significantly manifested through issues of heritage management. This study highlights the challenges of managing heritage in the emerging city of Lucknow. Historically and today, heritage sites and landscapes in the city have faced neglect, or worse, demolition, in the absence of local mechanisms that can identify, designate, preserve and protect them. These threats have been exacerbated by recent economically and politically motivated development particular to the city.

Drawing on archival sources, interviews and survey data, this work illustrates how managing heritage in Lucknow involves challenges of administration, ownership, enforcement and jurisdiction. The study focuses on the three historic precincts of Husainabad, Kaiserbagh and Hazratganj to argue that relationship dynamics between stakeholders are particular to every city and therefore necessitate individualized and locally-specific heritage management mechanisms.

Each case study, examined through a historical and a contemporary lens, highlights its particular challenges, nuanced by specific administrative, legislative and cognitive

dynamics that are unique to the city of Lucknow. Husainabad, Kaiserbagh and Hazratganj each have different levels of designation and legislation, and the kinds of stakeholders and administrators involved. Consequently, their differences highlight how public and private stakeholders balance economics and commerce with heritage, religion with tourism, private ownership with public preservation and local administration, legislation with enforcement, and historic built fabric with contemporary pressures of development in very different ways.

Although the various kinds of challenges are historically rooted, they have been exacerbated over time by sweeping legislation at the federal and state levels. This indicates a change is needed, with a new urban heritage management system to respond to each city's unique administrative, cultural and cognitive dynamics to better integrate local preservation, planning, legislative and administrative efforts. The system will work with, and enhance the existing public and private resources to help Indian cities manage their built heritage more efficiently. The findings in Lucknow are relevant for local officials, preservationists and heritage advocates in other Indian cities where built heritage continues to be at risk. The urban heritage management system (UHMS) proposed in this research can shape the future of historic landscapes in Indian cities by addressing the root causes of mismanagement that fail to preserve and protect the historic urban landscape, and help emerging cities from further loss of their historic built environment.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Ashima Krishna grew up in Lucknow, India, and identifies herself as an architect, a historic preservation planner, and an educator. She received her Bachelor of Architecture from the School of Planning and Architecture (New Delhi, India) in 2005. In 2006, Ashima joined the Department of City and Regional Planning at Cornell University, earning a Master of Arts in Historic Preservation Planning in 2009, and a Ph.D. in City and Regional Planning in 2014. Ashima was awarded a research fellowship from the Clarence S. Stein Institute for Urban and Landscape Studies during the course of her doctoral work, allowing her to conduct fieldwork in India in 2011-12. She also received the Global Heritage Fund Preservation Fellowship to study the impact of JNNURM on historic sites in Agra. Ashima will join the faculty at the University at Buffalo, State University of New York (SUNY) in the spring of 2014 as an assistant professor in the Department of Urban Planning.

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Finally, this dissertation would not have been complete without the tremendous love and support of my parents who tolerated my reckless handling of their beloved vehicles as I traipsed around Lucknow gathering information and conducting interviews, and my husband who bore the brunt of my frequent outbursts of frustration. I also thank my sister, my parents-in-law and my brother-in-law for providing constant encouragement and for keeping me in their prayers. I would surely have gone down the black hole without the love, support and constant cheer from all my dear friends and family, who I thank from the bottom of my heart.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMASR – The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act *(Act of 1958, Rules of 1959 and Amendment of 2010)*

ASI – Archaeological Survey of India

ADM – Additional District Magistrate

BIA – British India Association

DAUP – Directorate of Archaeology, Government of Uttar Pradesh

DM – District Magistrate

DOT – State Department of Tourism, Government of Uttar Pradesh

DUDA – District Urban Development Authority of Uttar Pradesh

FIR – First Incident Report, filed at a Police Station

GOI – Government of India

HTA – Hazratganj Traders Association

JNNURM – Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission

LDA – Lucknow Development Authority

LESA – Lucknow Electricity Supply Authority

LMC – Lucknow Municipal Corporation, also Lucknow Nagar Nigam

LNN – Lucknow Nagar Nigam, also Lucknow Municipal Corporation

MCD – Municipal Corporation of Delhi

NOC – No Objection Certificate

NWPO – North Western Provinces and Oudh

PIL – Public Interest Litigation

SUDA – State Urban Development Authority of Uttar Pradesh

UP – Uttar Pradesh (1947 - present)

UP – United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (1902-1947); formerly NWPO

UPPCL – Uttar Pradesh Power Corporation Ltd

UPSRTC – UP State Road and Transport Corporation

LIST OF SYMBOLS AND TERMS

$ – Dollar

£ – Pound

Rs. – Rupee symbol (Old)

₹ – Rupee symbol (New)

Lakh – This is a term used in South Asia to denote hundred thousand. It is written as 1,00,000.

Crore – This is also a term used in South Asia to denote hundred lakh, or ten million. It is written as 1,00,00,000.

PREFACE

The notion of heritage management has been relatively absent in discussions of built heritage in India. This dissertation fills this significant gap by addressing the very pertinent and contemporary issue of managing and administering built heritage, especially in emerging cities in India that now face considerable developmental pressures. In almost two years of conducting fieldwork, gathering information and writing this dissertation, I was faced with the daunting task of tackling a subject that did not really have much prior published work. This was made even harder by the absence of published material on Lucknow dealing with subjects other than architecture, culture and history. While this lack of literary material made the task daunting in the beginning, it later spurred me on to make a significant contribution to the field. I hope this dissertation can be a landmark in opening up a discussion on local heritage management mechanisms in India and in Lucknow.

This research grew out of an initial idea to examine the efficacy of the centrally-funded Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) program in aiding the development of historic cores in emerging cities in India. Initial interviews with officers from various city agencies in Lucknow, however, pointed to a distinct lack of understanding and appreciation about historic sites and precincts, and most importantly, their management. I quickly realized that despite planning for several projects, and despite the money available for allocation, cities like Lucknow were simply not equipped to execute and implement development projects for historic areas. Therefore, I adapted the nature of my inquiry to try and address this inadequacy at the

local level, examining and analyzing the management mechanism from the local perspective. I began to formulate my research to find out not only how heritage is currently managed in Lucknow, but also if there had been any successful endeavors in recent years, to then examine why they succeeded while others failed.

This dissertation has been the culmination of this exploratory journey in Lucknow, and more specifically in the historic precincts of Husainabad, Kaiserbagh and Hazratganj. The city and three of its most prominent historic landscapes paint a vivid picture of the promise and pitfalls of contemporary heritage management and its historical roots. Consequently, lessons learned from the various management processes described in this research can help other cities like Lucknow to better plan and execute the development of their historic precincts.

I chose to examine three very particular precincts in Lucknow for a number of reasons. First, their diverse models of management allowed for a more robust comparison of stakeholders, their relationships and administrative patterns. Second, while Lucknow has several other precincts that are equally important historically and architecturally, most lacked any recent revitalization and preservation activity (especially within the last two decades). This was a big factor in determining Husainabad, Kaiserbagh and Hazratganj as case studies. Third, some of the other historic and more vernacular precincts in Lucknow, like Chowk and Aminabad, though important, had neither the defined boundaries of the former three, nor the specific stakeholders who played key

roles. Consequently, research and analysis of the three case studies presented very unique but relatively homogenous sets of criteria for analysis and comparison.

This analysis was facilitated by the use of several resources. First, I conducted exhaustive research through personal interviews with city agency officials, bureaucrats, agency staff members, and local newspapers to determine the historic precincts that I could examine in Lucknow. Second, I pinpointed the various stakeholders involved after identifying the three case studies. I then proceeded to interview all the different key players at each of the three sites, and looked at project files, newspaper clippings and stakeholder correspondence to create a complete storyline in each case. Third, I conducted exhaustive archival research at the Uttar Pradesh State Archives to lay the historical foundations for heritage management activity in the city, and for the three case studies.

Last, I also looked at responses to various kinds of local decision making through controlled surveys of the users at each of the three case studies. This was done through anonymous responses from three hundred users at each site to illustrate how decisions made by public and/or private stakeholders are not always in the interest of the user. The users were kept anonymous first, because identifiers would not make a difference to their responses, and second, because in most cases, users were more willing to participate without giving their personal information. In the case of Hazratganj, I also sought responses from one hundred traders/business owners in the market street to get their reactions to the revitalization project I discuss. At Kaiserbagh, a primarily

residential precinct, this was a little more difficult. Seeking the contact information for each of the twenty-nine residents of the quadrangle proved difficult, as many did not want to talk to me, considering the sensitive nature of their tenure and its legal implications. Consequently, I conducted telephonic interviews with ten residents, who were willing to respond to my controlled survey questions.

All of these processes helped in analyzing the case studies. The various problems of management and administration seen in different ways in this dissertation, as well as the user responses to the kinds of decisions made, point to the need for a holistic management mechanism at the local level that incorporates planning, preservation, administration and legislation. Today, Lucknow is more than capable of implementing such a mechanism, especially at the three case study sites analyzed in this research. Taking this drastic, but much-needed step can help Lucknow and other emerging cities like it to tackle and mitigate the kinds of risks that their historic urban landscapes continuously face and make it a lot easier for local decision-makers to make better, more informed decisions.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In October 1996, Indian journalist Kanchan Gupta, in his *Outlook*[1] article titled "Lucknow Diary", called Lucknow a 'dying' city:

> "Every time I visit Lucknow—or, for that matter, Calcutta—I am increasingly convinced that there is a destructive streak in us which forces us to destroy our cultural heritage. The 'new' Lucknow that is fast replacing the 'old' Lucknow is a ghastly mismatch of everything that is unaesthetic" (Gupta 1996).

Objections to destruction of the city's built heritage like these have resonated sporadically over the years. They also illustrate the ways in which Indian cultural heritage sites and landscapes continue to be (mis)managed, leading to demolition in the face of increasing urbanization, especially since the 2000s (Figure 1).

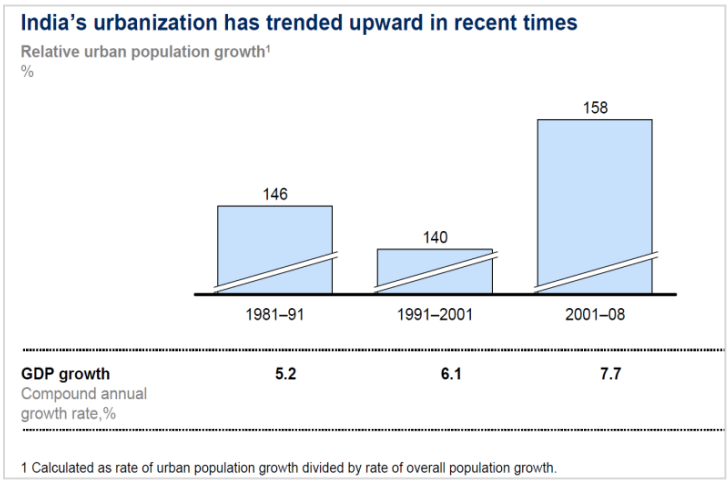


Figure 1: Comparison of decadal urbanization in India since 1981.
Source: McKinsey Global Institute, 2010. *"India's urban awakening: Building inclusive cities, sustaining economic growth",* Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India. p.38.

[1] *Outlook* is one of India's most respected independent weekly magazines.

Physically, contemporary Lucknow has significantly altered since Gupta wrote about its vanishing cultural heritage in 1996. Over the last few years, large-scale 'beautification' projects and industrialization have drastically changed the urban landscape of the city (A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011). Yet, today, like in the 1990s, cultural heritage sites and landscapes in Lucknow continue to be threatened by urban development, encroachment, neglect, and lack of funding and expertise. These threats persist because the management of built heritage in cities like Lucknow has not evolved in response to urban changes. The goal of this research is to highlight the promise and pitfalls of heritage management in the absence of local heritage legislation in Lucknow, and argue for the creation of individualized heritage management mechanisms for similar, emerging Indian cities.

I argue that cultural heritage in emerging Indian cities will continue to be at risk from development forces unless heritage management is embedded within the city's urban development agenda. I also argue that each city has particular socio-cultural, political and administrative dynamics that influence cognitive perceptions of heritage. This necessitates individualized and not pan-Indian models of heritage management. I use a mixed methods research design that incorporates data from archival research, interviews, and surveys, to show how three diverse historic landscapes in the north Indian city of Lucknow have been managed over time, and more specifically, in the last two decades. Three historic landscapes highlight how different management processes function in a manner unique to Lucknow, given the city's unique socio-cultural nuances

and administrative dynamics, necessitating a management model particular to the city. The three landscapes also present different management models: two that have had very limited success at Husainabad and Kaiserbagh respectively, and one with considerable success at Hazratganj. Together, these present significant lessons for the future of managing heritage in the city of Lucknow.

Dealing with heritage-related issues at the local level is not a new phenomenon in India. Environmental advocate Shyam Chainani has previously argued for stronger heritage legislation for Indian states, cities and towns at the local level to combat what he calls "The ASI Problem" (Chainani 2007a; Chainani 2007b). He has outlined the failure of the ASI and various state agencies in designating and listing a majority of India's cultural heritage, leading to constantly threatened historic sites. He has argued for a legislative model at the local level that can be replicated in different contexts across Indian cities. In this research, I take his case for local legislation further, and argue for a comprehensive, localized heritage management system. Improved local legislation (proposed by Chainani) forms a part of this system. I also illustrate through three case studies how existing, sweeping legislation does not work and cannot work in Indian cities.

Relevant archival data collected from the Uttar Pradesh State Archives comprises primarily of provincial and local government files dating between the 1870s and 1960s. These are analyzed and compiled to situate the heritage management process in Lucknow, and each case study, in a historical context. Interviews conducted with various

state and local agency officers, and representatives of the different stakeholders, illustrate the implications of contemporary management practices on each of the case study historic landscapes. They also highlight how conflicts arise in the three case studies, and allow for analysis of their possible resolution. Data collected from recent project reports, correspondence letters and newspaper articles situates the management processes in a more contemporary context. Surveys conducted between 2012 and 2013 at each case study site, shed light on user responses to heritage-related decision-making. By compiling and analyzing the mixed methods data, I arrive at a more complete understanding of the causes of the successes and failures in managing the three case study historic landscapes, and their implications for the future of cultural heritage management in Lucknow.

Cultural heritage is a complex notion (Blake 2000). The management of cultural heritage is today slowly evolving to include issues of "economic and development value, religious sensitivities, and the role of heritage in identity formation"(Hodder 2010, 863). These issues highlight particular facets of cultural heritage that need to be examined within their context, without the imposition of external ideas. Every example of cultural heritage exhibits different dynamics and relationships that manifest themselves through competing interests among local residents, community stakeholders, site managers, and the government (federal, state and local). Over the years, these differences of view have led to problems of preservation and management seen in a variety of economic and cultural environments (Breglia 2006; Mathers 2005; Smith 2004; Silverman 2007).

In India's multi-cultural, multi-lingual states and cities[2], the management and preservation of the historic built environment deals with the bureaucracy of various government agencies, politicians, religious groups, trusts, NGOs, advocacy and interest groups and the user in very different ways. The social, cultural and linguistic differences also manifest themselves cognitively to impact the way in which cultural heritage is administered, perceived and used. In recent years several emerging cities in India have proven to be the new magnets for development (Figure 2) (Revi 2012). The McKinsey Global Institute report from 2010 makes a strong case for India to "preemptively shape the trajectory of the 24 largest Tier 2[3] cities", to avoid emulating the "urban decay of today's Tier 1 cities" (McKinsey Global Institute 2010, 145). This research focuses on one such 'Tier 2' city, Lucknow, and argues for heritage management to be an integral part of its future growth trajectory.

[2] Owing to the vast socio-cultural, educational, political and administrative differences in urban and rural India, this research only discusses heritage management in the contexts of cities. Villages in India are administered and governed very differently and therefore deserve a separate discussion.

[3] Tier 2 cities are described as those that have a population between one and four million, while Tier 1 cities have populations over four million (McKinsey Global Institute 2010; JNNURM 2006).

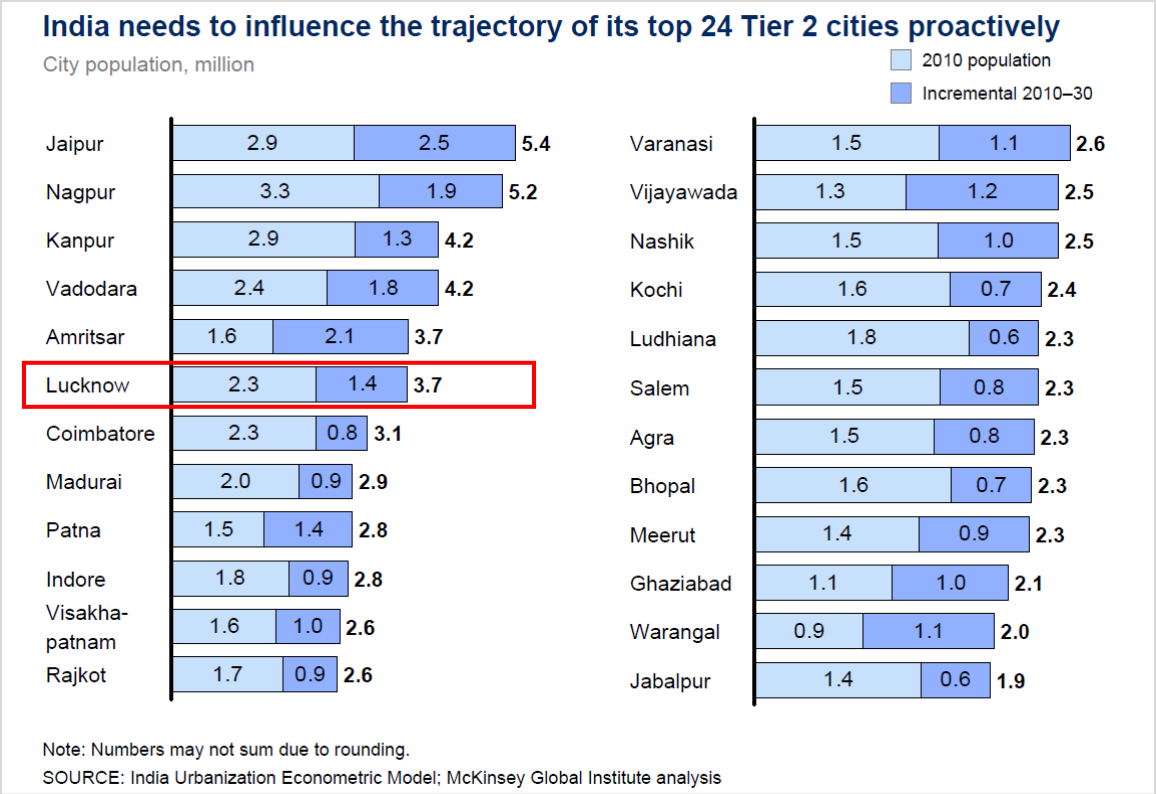


Figure 2: Top 24 Tier 2 cities in India by population.
Source: McKinsey Global Institute, 2010. *"India's urban awakening: Building inclusive cities, sustaining economic growth"*, Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India. p.146.

1.1. STUDY CONTEXT: LUCKNOW, THE EMERGING METROPOLIS

Lucknow, capital of the north-Indian state of Uttar Pradesh, is considered to be historically, architecturally, culturally and politically important in the region[4]. For decades, it has been synonymous with very particular aspects of a medieval-era Islamic (Nawabi) lifestyle that has influenced the architecture, culture, language and cuisine of the city. Despite its importance, however, Lucknow lacked the centrality of New Delhi,

[4] These are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

and the commercial 'port' advantage of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay to be considered a major Indian city. Consequently, over time it has been surpassed by other cities in population (Table 1). In the last few decades, however, this trend has been changing with the development of commerce, industry and educational institutions in the city (Majumdar 2004).

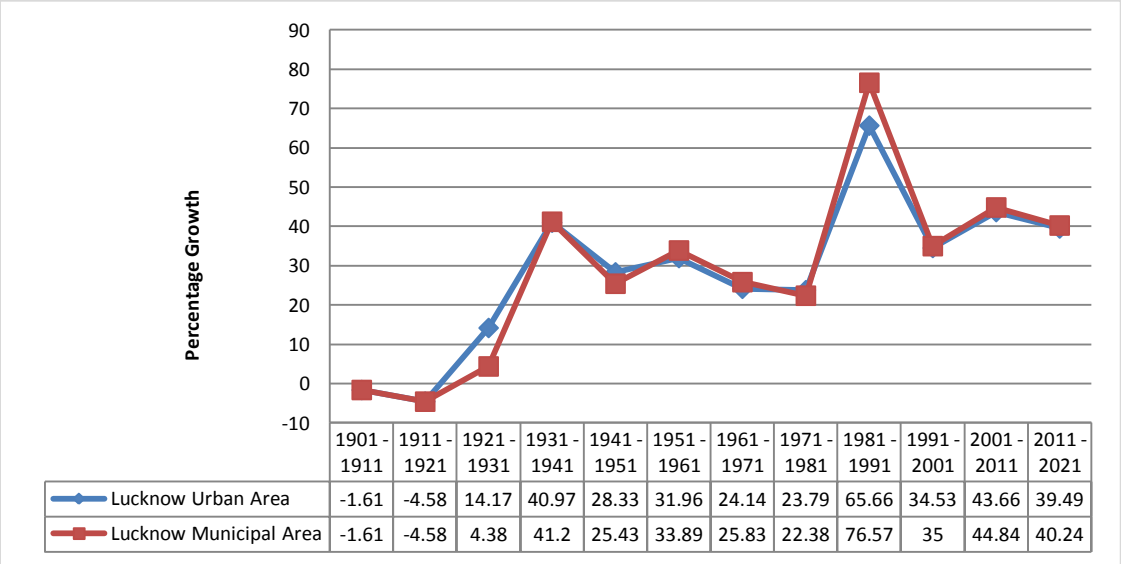
Table 1: 20 most populous urban areas in India; Lucknow currently stands eleventh at 2.8 million. Source: Census of India, 2011

	City	State	Urban Population	City Population
1	Mumbai	Maharashtra	18,414,288	12,478,447
2	Delhi	Delhi	16,314,838	11,007,835
3	Bangalore	Karnataka	8,499,399	8,425,970
4	Hyderabad	Andhra Pradesh	7,749,334	6,809,970
5	Ahmedabad	Gujarat	6,352,254	5,570,585
6	Chennai	Tamil Nadu	8,696,010	4,681,087
7	Kolkata	West Bengal	14,112,536	4,486,679
8	Surat	Gujarat	4,585,367	4,462,002
9	Pune	Maharashtra	5,049,968	3,115,431
10	Jaipur	Rajasthan	3,073,350	3,073,350
11	**Lucknow**	**Uttar Pradesh**	**2,901,474**	**2,815,601**
12	Kanpur	Uttar Pradesh	2,920,067	2,767,031
13	Nagpur	Maharashtra	2,497,777	2,405,421
14	Indore	Madhya Pradesh	2,167,447	1,960,631
15	Thane	Maharashtra	1,818,872	1,818,872
16	Bhopal	Madhya Pradesh	1,883,381	1,795,648
17	Visakhapatnam	Andhra Pradesh	1,730,320	1,730,320
18	Pimpri and Chinchwad	Maharashtra	1,729,359	1,729,359
19	Patna	Bihar	2,046,652	1,683,200
20	Vadodara	Gujarat	1,817,191	1,666,703

In 1891, the population of the city was over 2.7 lakh[5] (Majumdar 2004, 21). Between 1901 and 1921, population in the city declined due to famine, malaria epidemics and

[5] 1 lakh (1,00,000), a common unit in South Asia, is equivalent to one hundred thousand (100,000) used elsewhere.

plague (Majumdar 2004, 22). Between 1921 and 1961, however, the Second World War and India's partition had a major impact on increasing the city's population. In 1937, the seat of power for the state moved from Allahabad to Lucknow, further increasing the number of government officers, workers, and commercial establishments in Lucknow (Majumdar 2004, 23). The city's growth rate fell in the 50s and 60s. Between 1981 and 1991, however, there was a sudden hike (Figure 3) in population growth due to developments in the trade, commerce, transportation, education, health, and recreation sectors (Majumdar 2004, 24).



	1901 - 1911	1911 - 1921	1921 - 1931	1931 - 1941	1941 - 1951	1951 - 1961	1961 - 1971	1971 - 1981	1981 - 1991	1991 - 2001	2001 - 2011	2011 - 2021
Lucknow Urban Area	-1.61	-4.58	14.17	40.97	28.33	31.96	24.14	23.79	65.66	34.53	43.66	39.49
Lucknow Municipal Area	-1.61	-4.58	4.38	41.2	25.43	33.89	25.83	22.38	76.57	35	44.84	40.24

Figure 3: Growth rate of Lucknow's population with the larger urban area and the municipal boundary.
Source: Compiled from (1) Paramita Majumdar, 2004. *Dynamics of Urban Development : the Changing Face of Lucknow*. Delhi: Abhijeet Publications. (2) Lucknow Nagar Nigam. 2006. "City Development Plan, Lucknow". Lucknow India.

Since the 1990s, Lucknow has exhibited a relatively steady growth pattern, primarily because of its status as the capital of the state of Uttar Pradesh (Kantor and Nair 2005).

Its population surpassed that of other mid-sized Indian cities like Kanpur and Nagpur, but lagged behind Surat and Jaipur (Lucknow Nagar Nigam 2006). The 2011 census (Table 1) shows a continuation of this trend, placing Lucknow eleventh in the most populous cities of India, ahead of Kanpur and Nagpur, but behind Jaipur, Pune and Surat. In fact, the population growth projected for Lucknow has varied between 3.51 and 4.37 per cent per year over 5-year periods, an estimate higher than that for other, similar-sized cities in the country (Lucknow Nagar Nigam 2006; McKinsey Global Institute 2010). The growth patterns can also be attributed to the high rate of migration into urban Lucknow from rural areas (56.6%), owing to comparatively better infrastructural, employment, education and social-cultural facilities in the city (Lucknow Nagar Nigam 2006).

The rise in population is reflected in the city's physical expansion[6] in the last two decades. While Lucknow's area was estimated to be around 9170 hectares (35.4 sq. miles) in 1987, it had increased by over 77% to 16,270 hectares (62.82 sq. miles) by 2004-05 (Table 2). The expansion of the city to double its size in less than twenty years has been significant not only for creating new urban areas, but also impacting the existing historic core. Sustained in-migration over decades has led to a significant increase in residential land-use and housing needs in both the historic core and newer peripheral areas (Lucknow Nagar Nigam 2006; Revi and Dube 1999).

[6] Lucknow, with a population of over 2.8 million people has an approximate density of 21,826/sq.mile. In comparison, the city of Chicago in the United States has a population of 2.7million with a density of 11,482/sq.mile, nearly half the density of Lucknow.

Housing needs for the often-migrant informal sector, when not met by the city, lead to encroachments, especially in and around vulnerable historic properties that are not policed or regulated on a daily basis (Mathur 2010e). Most of these lie within the historic core of the city, in the traditional urban settlements and precincts established by the Nawabs. These areas are often characterized by high density, congestion and narrow streets (Figure 4 to Figure 7) (Kantor and Nair 2005, 337). The 1991 Census estimated that almost 40% of the city's population lived in either slums or conditions akin to slums (Kantor and Nair 2005, 336).

Historic areas in Lucknow have also been made vulnerable owing to an increase in 'poverty pockets'. A study by Oxfam in 1998 found that of the 580 'poverty pockets' in Lucknow, over 50% were within the historic core (Kantor and Nair 2005, 336). Reconciling these developmental needs, while maintaining the integrity of historic structures and landscapes in Lucknow continues to be one of the biggest challenges of urban governance and heritage management in city.

Table 2: Land use patterns in Lucknow between 1971 and 2021.
Source: Combined information from Lucknow Master Plans 1971, 2001 and 2021

	up to 1971*		1987**		2001***		2004-05**		2021***	
Land use	**Area**	**%**	**Area**	**%**	**Area**	**%**	**Area**	**%**	**Area**	**%**
Residential	1558.52	19.37	4,485.98	48.92	15,923.80	67.24	8,945.00	54.98	20,100.00	48.60
Commercial	97.18	1.21	223.77	2.44	983.20	4.15	360.00	2.21	1,450.00	3.51
Offices	265.8	3.30	474.69	5.18	378.50	1.60	560.00	3.44	515.00	1.25
Industrial	173.82	2.16	596.22	6.50	731.00	3.09	990.00	6.08	1,655.00	4.00
Parks/Playgrounds	210.62	2.62	346.48	3.78	1,868.50	7.89	435.00	2.67	8,400.00	20.31
Public Services	614.63	7.64	902.02	9.84	1,537.00	6.49	1,410.00	8.67	2,700.00	6.53
Traffic	717.42	8.91	952.00	10.38	2,260.00	9.54	1,240.00	7.62	6,540.00	15.81
Agricultural	2785.84	34.62	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

River/water bodies	260.42	3.24	193.66	2.11	-	-	310.00	1.91	-	-
Open Land	1363.8	16.95	996.14	10.86	-	-	2,020.00	12.42	-	-
TOTAL	**8048.05**	100.00	**9,170.96**	100.00	23,682.00	100.00	**16,270.00**	100.00	**41,360.00**	100.00

***excluding the Alambagh, Charbagh and Cantonment areas**
****actual**
*****as proposed in the Master Plan**

All area figures in hectares

Figure 4: Narrow lanes in the well-known traditional residential settlement of Aminabad.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 5: Narrow commercial lanes of Aminabad.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 6: Traditional residential structures in the historic core. This image is from the Chowk area.
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

Figure 7: Traditional market street in Chowk.
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

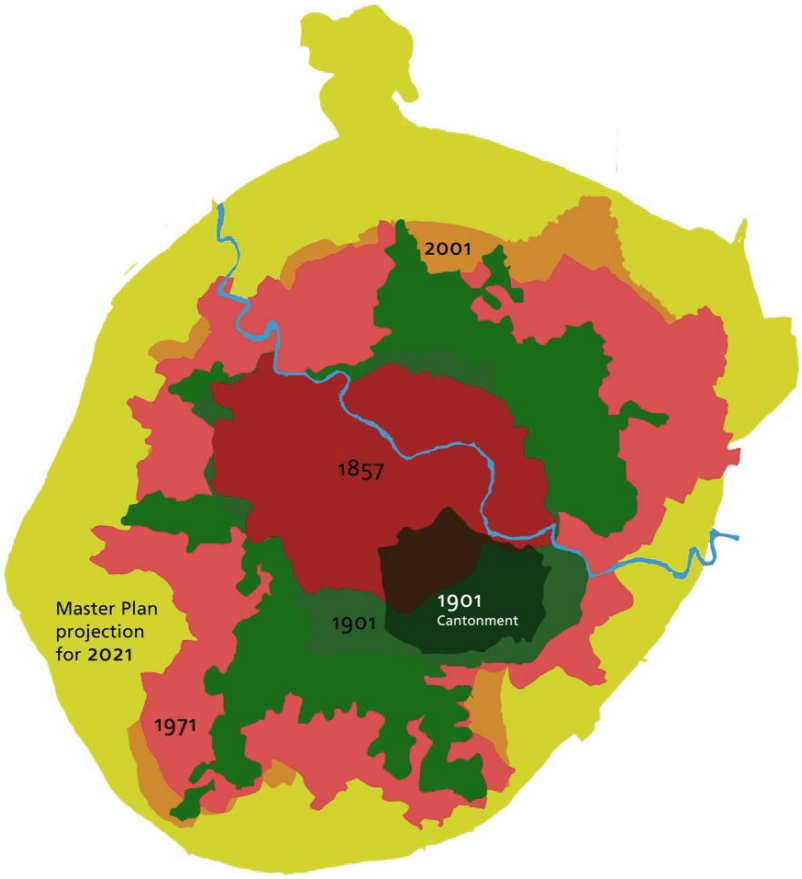


Figure 8: Physical expansion of Lucknow between 1857 and as projected for 2021.
Source: Lucknow Master Plan 2021, Lucknow Master Plan 2001, Lucknow Master Plan 1971.

1.2. WHY LUCKNOW?

The north Indian state of Uttar Pradesh (Figure 9) is one of the country's largest and most populous states, and has a significant share of the country's nationally-designated historic sites[7]. Most notable of these are the properties at Agra, a city with a population

[7] Most recently, the state also got the dubious distinction of have the largest number of "missing monuments" from the list of ASI's protected sites administered by the Agra and Lucknow Circles (Mukul 2013; Bose 2013; Mail Today Bureau 2013).

of just over 1.5 million and synonymous with several World Heritage Sites dating back to the Mughal-era (Census of India 2011). The popularity of Taj Mahal, Agra Fort and Fatehpur Sikri with domestic and international tourists, academics, and organizations like the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) and the United Nationals Economic, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has been well documented over the years.

The scores of Mughal-era historic sites in and around Agra first gained attention in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and continue to attract support from international, federal and state organizations. More importantly, the ASI has retained primary control of all the centrally protected sites in Agra, giving them administrative, managerial and economic priority through their Agra Circle[8]. Other stakeholders, like the State Department of Tourism, the State Department of Culture, Agra Nagar Nigam (Municipal Corporation) and Agra Development Authority have a peripheral role at these sites. They provide support to the ASI Agra Circle, and cannot carry out projects at these sites without the ASI's permission. Consequently the sites at Agra have a relatively more streamlined management system, leaving little room for conflict (A. Krishna 2012a).

[8] Originally the Agra Circle administered the whole of the state and nearby areas; however in 1985 the jurisdiction of the Circle amended when the Lucknow Circle was added to ASI. The Lucknow Circle was created by bifurcating parts of Agra Circle, Bhopal Circle and Patna Circle. Today Agra Circle administers Western Uttar Pradesh and Lucknow Circle takes care of the Eastern part of the state (Archaeological Survey of India 2012).

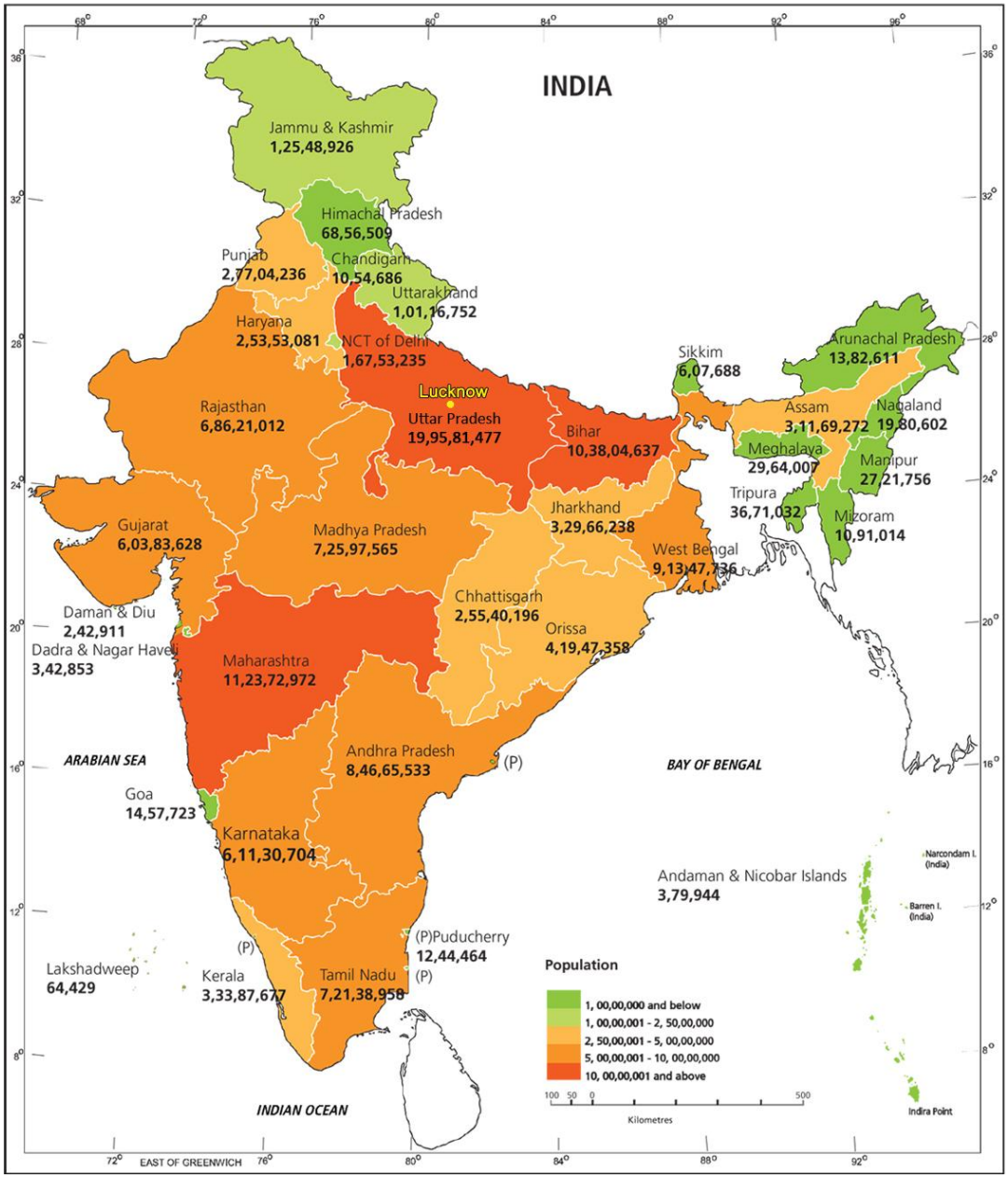


Figure 9: Location of the state of Uttar Pradesh and the city of Lucknow in northern India (in yellow). As per the latest 2011 census, Uttar Pradesh was the most populous state in the country. From: Census of India, 2011. *Size, Growth Rate and Distribution of Population*. Government of India. p.36.

In direct contrast to Agra, is the city of Lucknow. There are several reasons why Lucknow is an ideal case study for analyzing heritage management systems. First, it is today an emerging metropolis (Figure 2), with an ever-increasing population of over 2.9 million

(Table 1), as outlined in the previous section. This increase in population has left the historic core vulnerable to slum development and encroachment (Figure 14) (Kantor and Nair 2005, 336).

Second, Lucknow's urban landscape has seen significant physical changes in the past few decades due to shifting political, social, cultural and economic trends (Nagpal and Sinha 2009; A. Sinha 2010; S. Singh 1994; Majumdar 2004). Many of these changes include the addition of large, contemporary urban spaces such as memorials, parks and monuments (Figure 10 to Figure 13) that are arenas for political claim-making and enjoy significant administrative attention and funding[9] (A. Sinha 2010). These memorials and parks have also challenged contemporary notions of 'heritage' and "monumentality", affecting the way in which they are now managed and used in the city[10], while older, designated and undesignated historic structures languish due to lack of regulation, enforcement, management and funding.

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[9] The memorials, parks and sites enjoyed significant administrative attention until 2012, when the state elected a new Chief minister from the incumbent's rival political party. As a result, several of the privileges given to these large edifices were revoked. The state government has been discussing the potential of adaptively reusing these sites.

[10] In early 2010 the political party in power responsible for the construction of these memorials got a Bill passed in the Uttar Pradesh State Assembly that allowed for the creation of a new security force to guard all the 'monuments' recently created: Dr Bhim Rao Ambedkar Samajik Parivartan Sthal, which also includes public utilities and administrative building, Dr Ambedkar Vihar, Samajik Parivartan Pratik Sthal, Manyawar Kanshiramji Smarak Sthal, Kanshiram Vishram Sthal at 13 Mall Avenue, Manyawar Kanshiram Ji Harit (eco) Park, Ramabai Ambedkar Maidan, Buddha Vihar Shanti Upvan and Smriti Upvan, all in Lucknow, and Gautam Buddha Samta Moolak Sthal at Gautam Buddha Nagar (Noida). This force has the arbitrary power to arrest anyone found defacing the 'monuments' in any way. Between 2010 and 2011 the Chief Planner for the Lucknow Development Authority also worked on the creation of a Bill that would designate all the structures above as "monuments", thus giving them special protection and saving them from future demolition (Express News Service 2010).

Figure 10: Panoramic side view of Manyawar Kanshiramji Smarak Sthal, constructed by a two-term political regime roughly between 2002 and 2012.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 11: Panoramic view of Ambedkar Vihar (in the background), also constructed during the same decade as Manyawar Kanshiramji Smarak Sthal.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 12: Panoramic view of the large memorials and parks constructed in the last decade in Lucknow along Lohia Path on the River Gomti. These memorials and parks have been politically motivated and cost the state exchequer several thousand crore rupees.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 13: The large landscaped parks, pristine pink sandstone gateways, statuary and fountains surround well-maintained roads. These areas, despite drastically changing the cityscape, are islands in a city struggling with housing shortage, defunct civic amenities and overcrowded roads.
Source: Author, 2013.

Third, Lucknow is worth examining because of its relative failure to make use of available federal funds for urban heritage revitalization. In 2005, the Central Government, through the Ministry of Urban Development, launched the Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission (JNNURM) to promote planned and sustainable development in various urban sectors across the country, in partnership with Urban Local Bodies (ULBs). The development and decongestion of historic urban cores were among the goals of the Mission, and the Directorate of Urban Infrastructure and Governance offered funding to advance projects, an unprecedented opportunity (JNNURM 2006).

Figure 14: Increasing construction in and around historic landscapes has left them vulnerable. The first case study, Husainabad is seen in this image from 2012.
Source: The Lucknow Society, 2013.

The city of Lucknow was one among sixty-two other cities across India that received funding from the Government of India to implement a wide variety of projects under

the comprehensive urban development scheme of JNNURM. While cities like Mumbai, Hyderabad and Bangalore were able to make use of funds to develop their heritage areas, Lucknow failed to implement any projects related to the development of its historic precincts (JNNURM 2009). Interviews of officers from the local government have uncovered an acute absence of professionals in the preservation planning, conservation and cultural heritage fields within various departments. The interviews also revealed a distinct cognitive bias amongst city agencies against dealing with built heritage, an area they attribute to being the ASI's domain. These gaps in policy, administration and management provide yet another reason why Lucknow and its policies of managing built heritage need a closer examination and attention.

1.3. THE DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

The overall structure of the dissertation follows a traditional model, starting with a review of the development of prevalent preservation thought, and its implications on heritage management in India. The research then moves to a brief overview of the development of Lucknow, followed by the three case study historic landscapes that provide evidence for the two central arguments of this research: First, comprehensive heritage management needs to be an integral part of the urban decision-making process and governance to mitigate threats to cultural heritage. Second, heritage management systems for urban areas in India need to be individually created in response to the local socio-cultural, political and economic dynamics arising from very particular cognitive values and perceptions.

Heritage management has been conspicuously missing from discussions of emerging Indian cities, and more specifically, Lucknow. Management of cultural heritage sites and landscapes in India has been predicated on the notion that the archaeological and architectural significance of cultural heritage sites trumps their functional value. Chapter 2 gives a brief historical overview of this preservation concept and situates it in the contemporary problems in heritage management. The nineteenth-century Western notion, focusing on archaeological significance, clashes with the Indian cognitive values that place importance on a structure's use. Nested within these pan-Indian values are religion and community-specific beliefs. Hindus, for example believe that a temple and its site have metaphysical qualities independent of the physical structure (A. Krishna 2013). This is completely foreign to the prevalent preservation approach in India, and elsewhere. I briefly use the example of the 1992 Babri Masjid demolition to illustrate how cognitive differences between interest groups affect the future of an historic structure and defy all existing preservation ethos and legislation. I then discuss the implications of these cognitive differences on contemporary heritage management to argue for an individual heritage management system for emerging Indian cities.

Chapter 3 introduces the city of Lucknow and its heritage management in an historic and contemporary perspective, to give a background to the case study chapters that follow. Tier 2 Indian cities like Lucknow have been losing their cultural heritage sites and landscapes to the pressures of urban development for several decades. In other instances, cultural heritage sites have been left to decay, encroached on, built upon, or

become the objects of conflict between competing interest groups. This has necessitated a critical look at heritage management in India, especially one catering to emerging cities where historic sites and landscapes are under continuous threat. I argue that given Lucknow's recent rate of expansion, comprehensive preservation planning through a local heritage management system is essential for the historic sites and landscapes to be successfully integrated with the urban development agenda. The three case studies that follow illustrate this need.

Chapter 4 introduces the first case study historic landscape, Husainabad. With a prominent tourist attraction in the historic core of the city, Husainabad is an ideal example to illustrate the conflict between the prevalent preservation thought, economics and the use of historic structures. I briefly describe the historical development of Husainabad, to highlight its importance in the city's narrative, and itemize the heritage structures that contribute to the larger historic landscape that is today a 'Heritage Zone'. The next section in this chapter outlines the challenges of administration, ownership, jurisdiction and legislation at Husainabad, first, with a detailed narrative of the role of the primary stakeholder at Husainabad: the Husainabad and Allied Trust. As one of the few of its kind in the country, the Husainabad Trust has significantly affected the way in which heritage is managed in Husainabad, and will continue to do so in the future. Description and history of the Trust and its role in managing and administering Husainabad is followed by a discussion of the 'claimant', the Shia Waqf Board. The concept of '*waqf*', an integral aspect of Islamic life is outlined

to help understand the rationale behind the Waqf Board. I situate the concept of *waqf* within a discussion of significant legislative changes over time that have contributed to conflicts of administration and management between the Trust and the Waqf Board.

The next section describes over a century of preservation efforts carried out at various historic sites within Husainabad, primarily by the ASI. The historical perspective of preservation efforts at Husainabad establishes a historical precedent for the ASI's consistent involvement. Yet, today in the absence of any formal agreement, the ASI needs the Trust's permission to carry out any project at the Husainabad sites. In addition to the ASI, the Trust and various city agencies have also proposed and implemented projects over the years. This section briefly describes their success and failure, illustrating the challenges faced when an administering agency with no preservation-related staff attempts to repair, restore and develop historic areas. Despite their best intentions, the projects flounder. These unique dynamics of stakeholder relationships, and the role of the local community at Husainabad, begin to indicate the need for a localized heritage management mechanism for the city.

Chapter 5 introduces the second case study, Kaiserbagh, a well-known, centrally-located and historically significant palace complex. I introduce Kaiserbagh's historical development and its role in the War of 1857 to establish its significance in Lucknow's socio-political and architectural history. The next sub-section situates this historical narrative in a more contemporary setting. The Kaiserbagh complex, like Husainabad, was designated a 'Heritage Zone' in the Master Plan of 2001 and 2021. While this

designation has not had much impact in Husainabad, it led to a long revitalization project at Kaiserbagh. Before describing this project, the section first introduces the primary stakeholder of the palace complex, the British India Association, and the deed document that contains guidelines for the maintenance of Kaiserbagh. The various residences within the quadrangular Kaiserbagh were gifted to various landed gentry called *taluqdars* in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The gift was conditional on the rules and regulations of the deed being followed by the residents of the complex. This deed document, called *sanad*, is unique for making the continual preservation and maintenance of the historic structures a condition for occupation of the residences within the palace complex. Another condition was the transfer or sale of the residences being made only to *taluqdars* and their descendents. These conditions, over the years, have posed several problems for the principal stakeholder, the British India Association, whose membership includes *taluqdars* from across the state. This section describes some of the conflicts that have arisen over the years as a consequence of contravention of the *sanad.*

Following this, I discuss in detail the 'Kaiserbagh Revitalization Project" that was sporadically carried out between 1996 and 2009. Unlike Husainabad, which has had sustained preservation efforts by the ASI, but only at particular sites, this particular revival campaign for Kaiserbagh was the first of its kind at the site to try and holistically develop the area. It brings to light several issues of local governance of historic sites and landscapes, most notably in terms of stakeholder participation and cooperation. I

analyze the problems faced during the project and illustrate how even the most well-intentioned regulatory frameworks like the *sanad* can fail due to lack of expertise and enforcement. Consequently, heritage projects are carried out without analyzing implications to the immediate urban environment. And, when participating stakeholders lack consensus, projects can fail, especially in the face of repeated neglect. These are a waste of public and private resources, and indicate a need for a localized heritage management mechanism that can not only oversee and manage such projects, but ensure smoother coordination between the public and private stakeholders at precincts like Kaiserbagh.

Chapter 6 introduces the third and last case study, Hazratganj. This case study is presented as a contrast to the previous two, in terms of not only its lack of heritage designation, but also its relatively successful revitalization. In 2010, this linear, two-hundred year old market street underwent a revitalization project based on the public-private-partnership model (PPP). I trace the market street's historical development and highlight its importance as a historic landscape that does not have designation at federal, state or local levels. Following its historical development, I introduce the physical and economic deterioration seen in the area, especially after the advent of shopping malls. The revitalization project was carried out to not only celebrate the market's bicentennial anniversary but also to boost its visibility as a shopping destination.

The next section of this chapter introduces the Sibtainabad Imambara, a 'nationally-designated monument' that has recently undergone extensive conservation and restoration work by the ASI, overseen by its primary stakeholder, the Shia *Waqf* Board. The Imambara is important to the Hazratganj narrative even though it was not part of the revitalization project. The quadrangle, encompassing the mausoleum of the king who laid the foundation for Hazratganj, abuts the market street and is physically part of the landscape, although it is administratively separate. The challenges and conflicts seen at the Sibtainabad Imambara over time echo the kinds of challenges seen in the previous two chapters. It is a religious structure, administered by the Shia *Waqf* Board and designated by the ASI. It is therefore, not surprising, that despite its close proximity, the complex was left out of the revitalization process.

The next sub-section describes this extensive revitalization work carried out at Hazratganj over a six-month period. I highlight the various administrative and bureaucratic issues that the project encountered and how they were handled by the various stakeholders to successfully implement the project. Problems primarily arose after the project was completed. The revitalization effort, however, is a good example of how a local management mechanism can be more efficient, and avoid the kinds of problems previously seen at Husainabad and Kaiserbagh. I also analyze the project's impact through survey responses from traders and visitors to highlight how the project was perhaps not as successful as it could have been. If a better heritage management mechanism had been in place, the market could have avoided the post-completion

problems it currently faces, especially in terms of maintenance. In this example, the major problems were of local designation (to protect from demolition), maintenance (of the revitalized areas), and management and enforcement for a more sustained future of Hazratganj.

All three case studies illustrate the various nuances of how heritage management is carried out with varying degrees of success in Lucknow, from the least successful (Husainabad) to the most (Hazratganj). As the case study chapters will show, the 'success' of heritage management for this research has been predicated upon how well the various stakeholders were able to make the historic landscape a part of the area's development. This included the involvement and success of city agencies in implementing projects in a way that highlighted the historic landscape's significance, and ensured the continued preservation of historic properties.

Such an integration of historic properties with urban development through engaged stakeholder participation and cooperation is essential for emerging Indian cities that are changing to meet various developmental challenges. These cities also have their unique socio-cultural, political and administrative dynamics that play a significant role in cultural heritage at the local level. The prevailing ASI model of a centralized policy for administering archaeological sites has proven to be problematic at the local level despite extensive work done by the agency for over one hundred and fifty years. Policies at central and state levels have focused almost exclusively on sites of archaeological and antiquarian interest, adding to the threat. This necessitates the need for a critical look at

integrated heritage management in emerging cities where historic sites and landscapes are under continuous threat. A pan-Indian model with a formulaic approach will not mitigate the problem, only add to the levels of threat.

CHAPTER 2: PRESERVING BUILT HERITAGE IN INDIA

The preservation and management of built heritage in India has for long been a complex and often contested process. It has, in turn, been affected by the way in which the concept of 'heritage' is perceived and internalized in the country. Heritage has variously been defined as a public good "intertwined with identity and territory" (Silverman 2007, 3). It is also true that the concept of heritage, like culture, is constantly evolving and carries different meaning for different people, groups and societies. As different authors have shown, its perceptions change over time, across human groups and national boundaries (Silverman 2007).

What may be heritage for one group may be inconsequential for another. Heritage can be seen as our understanding and interpretation of what we perceive to be our "culture"; what that culture means to each of us as individuals and how it informs our sense of being. The famous case of the Babri Masjid demolition in India, or the Bamiyan Buddha destruction in Afghanistan illustrates that one person or group's heritage is another's obstruction; one group's cultural identity is manifest in the destruction of another group's cultural heritage (Silverman 2007; Suter 2008; Krieken-pieters 2006; Aplin 2007). Such conflicts, contradictions and claims to cultural heritage are increasingly manifested in our built environment and have implications for the ways in which cultural heritage sites and landscapes are preserved and managed.

In India, cultural heritage and its preservation has been significantly informed by European ideologies. These ideas of preserving sites of archaeological and antiquarian significance permeated in local policies via British officers and engineers. They do not necessarily fit the local, culture and religion-specific concepts of heritage, preservation and use. These concepts of archaeology and antiquity are, however, what federal and state agencies have based their policies on, both before and after Independence. The first section in this chapter, therefore, briefly gives an overview of the development of preservation thought in India before discussing its contemporary application and its implications. The third section discusses cognitive implications of cultural heritage, its preservation and its management in India. The section describes recent scholarship advocating for stronger legislation, laying a foundation for the subsequent chapters that highlight the issues in managing heritage in Lucknow. As the subsequent chapters will show, contemporary heritage management is still heavily informed by the initial ideas that were introduced by the British.

2.1. A CENTURY AND A HALF OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTIQUITY

The process of preserving, conserving, restoring or reconstructing a particular building, site or landscape of antiquity developed in India during a significant phase of its history. Archaeological excavations and exploration of antiquarian sites and landscapes in the country first began between mid-1700s and mid-1800s, developed from a distinctly European conservation thought, and were carried out mainly by British officers and engineers (Keay 2011; Pant 2012).

The first initiative was taken by Sir William Jones[11] in 1784, when he founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This organization had a significant influence on the creation and development of a conservation and preservation discourse in the country and encouraged several individuals to carry out explorations and surveys (Keay 2011; Cunningham 1871). Between 1788 and 1834, the work primarily focused on epigraphy, surveys and documentation, aside from the conservation work carried out at major 'monuments' like Taj Mahal, Sikandra, Agra Fort, Fatehpur Sikri, Qutab Minar and a few other structures in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh under the guidance of the Governor General of India[12] (Cunningham 1865, 1:18; Pant 2012). After Sir Jones's death in 1794, the work of the Asiatic Society was carried out by James Fergusson, Markham Kittoe, Edward Thomas and Alexander Cunningham in the north. During this time Alexander Cunningham focused on creating architectural drawings and surveys, while Kittoe was a draftsman who studied temples, sculptures and inscriptions (Cunningham 1865).

Cunningham soon proved to be one of the key members of the preservation movement in India. In 1838, he began to campaign in London for setting up 'Archaeological Investigations' in India. Cunningham and Kittoe were two of a handful of 'Archaeological Enquirers' working in India (Keay 2011, 38). Cunningham's vigorous lobbying for an

[11] Sir Jones served as Calcutta's High Court Judge from 1783-94 (Keay 2011, 20).
[12] Pant provides a detailed description of the entire history of the way in which 'monuments' were cared for and managed during this period (Pant 2012). A detailed discussion on the country-wide history is beyond the scope of this research.

archaeological survey in India seems to have been "prompted by Gallic precedents" given that by then France had a comparatively robust survey effort, led by the Monuments Historique (Keay 2011, 43).

Eventually, Cunningham's efforts were rewarded when his 'Memorandum regarding a proposed Investigation of the Archaeological remains of Upper India' of 1861 was favorably received by the Government of India (GOI). He began his extensive work as the first Archaeological Surveyor to the GOI in November[13] (Keay 2011, 49; Chadha 2007, 16). It appears that his proposal was accepted because he tailored it to avoid any contentious subjects such as those dealing with sites of "non-Buddhist provenance--mainly Hindu and Muslim--of most of the country's built heritage" (Keay 2011, 45; Pant 2012, 81). Another reason for his proposal's acceptance was that the India of 1861 was very different from the country he had encountered previously. The War of 1857 had changed the physical, political and social landscape of the country, especially in northern India, where cities like Lucknow had experienced considerable destruction[14].

As the only officer initially employed in carrying out surveys and explorations, he chiefly focused on Buddhist sites in the north, especially in and around Bodh Gaya in Bihar (Keay 2011, 56; Pant 2012). This specific attention toward Buddhist sites and the relative avoidance of Hindu and Muslim sites was due to the official policy at that time that left

[13] Cunningham was also appointed the first Director General of the newly created Archaeological Survey of India in 1871 (Keay 2011; Chadha 2007; Pant 2012).
[14] The following chapters describe Lucknow's role in the War in further detail.

the care of active religious properties in the hands of those who occupied them. As a result, the 'living faiths' of Hinduism and Islam were treated differently, and their places of worship were guarded by their own 'religionists'. Their maintenance was often funded by wealthy patrons, Brahmins and *waqfs*[15] (Keay 2011, 56). European surveyors were neither 'wanted nor welcome' at these historic sites. The mostly-abandoned Buddhist sites had no such patrons, thus giving the surveyors freedom to work with the extensive material.

It is therefore unsurprising that Lucknow, with its predominantly Islamic and Hindu sites did not find mention in the regions that were the center of attention by the Archaeological Surveyor. It was only two decades later that the ASI and the provincial government came together to begin listing the various sites of archaeological interest in districts across the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, including Hindu and Islamic sites[16] in Lucknow (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886a; Pant 2012, 338). The initial reluctance of the government in dealing with religious historic sites has had a tremendous impact on the way in which they were treated, a trait that has survived in contemporary preservation and management practice in India.

[15] A *waqf* is an Islamic endowment, explained further in Chapter 4.
[16] Appendix A lists the sites of archaeological and antiquarian interest in North-Western Provinces and Oudh in detail with a focus on the district and city of Lucknow.

2.2. CONTEMPORARY APPROACH TO PRESERVATION

In recent years there have been several critiques of the ASI and its approach to archaeology, preservation and conservation in India (Chadha 2007; Greffe 2001, 30; Ota 2010, 82; Chainani 2007b). The agency, since it began in 1871, has taken inspiration for its philosophy and conservation approach from a very particular European aesthetic of ruins and the picturesque, focusing more on 'archaeological' sites and objects of antiquity rather than 'historic' or 'heritage' sites (A. Sinha and Harkness 2009, 209; A. Sinha 2010, 60; Chainani 2007a, 469).

The distinction between archaeological sites and historic sites is an important one. Archaeological sites (Figure 15) comprise ruins[17], or whole parts of a site that is revealed upon excavation, along with material culture (human remains, animal remains, and cultural remains). They are often used by archaeologists as laboratories, to figure out historical processes whether through soil layers, studying material culture, or whole/partial building parts. The development of archaeological sites, stemming from the need to unearth tropes of the past (in part or whole) has resulted in a more academic and scientific approach. Several archaeological sites form an archaeological landscape.

[17] Ruins are sites, objects, etc--remains of what once was. Ruins are usually above ground, or emerge through an excavation process. A ruin by its very nature denotes a part of a whole – something that now remains, reminding us, giving us clues, challenging us to imagine it in its entirety, as a whole, as it once was.

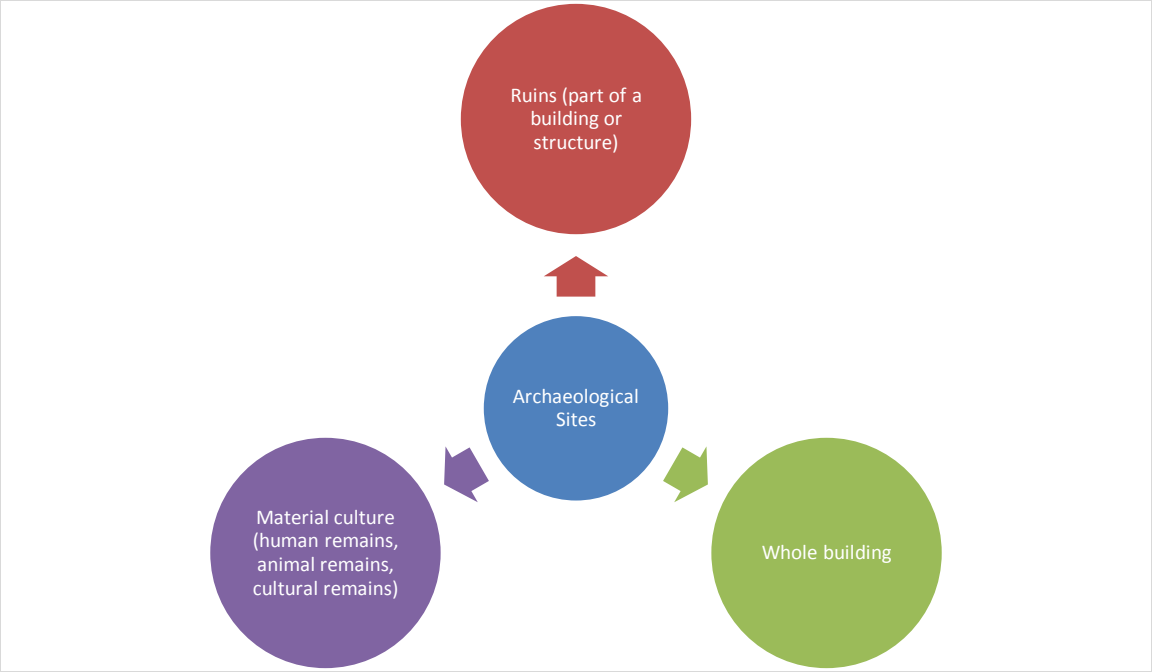

Figure 15: Diagrammatic representation of archaeological sites.
Source: Author, 2013.

Historic or heritage sites, on the other hand, denote more than the physical and scientific aspects of a site. Historic sites, as the name suggests, are important for their historical narrative, which can include their architectural, social, cultural, religious, and functional significance. Historic sites, unlike archaeological sites, are whole, and more often in use. Several historic or heritage sites form a historic landscape. The three case studies described in later chapters are historic landscapes that comprise several historically and architecturally significant sites.

These sites, however, have been treated by various local, state and federal agencies more as archaeological sites than historic ones over time. Consequently, several of them stand in isolation today, disconnected from their environment. The ideology of

'advantageously' placing particular archaeological sites/ruins protected by the ASI or state agencies within a romantic landscape has persisted for decades. This method has helped the ASI successfully conserve over 3600 buildings for decades. However, in almost every case, this approach has resulted in small islands of built heritage that are physically divorced from their context and surroundings, and upon whom various landscapes have been imposed, compromising their integrity.

This philosophy has also played a significant role in how particular sites are designated at the federal and state levels. Continuing the nineteenth-century practice encountered by Cunningham, historic sites in liturgical use are rarely designated at the federal and state levels. This overall number of designated 'monuments' in India is an insignificant fraction of the number of the estimated 2,10,000 undesignated sites existing today (Chainani 2007b, 15). The British legacy has also had policy implications; current federal legislation in India prohibits any use of a structure other than its function recorded at the time of designation by the ASI (A. Krishna 2013).

The earliest legislation dealing with preservation in the country was at the federal level. Hence, most states, when they were formed post-Independence, followed many of the same policies followed in New Delhi (Ota 2010, 30). As a result, most state agencies concern themselves more with archaeological excavations, explorations, archaeological sites, antiquities, and museums rather than preservation planning and urban conservation. Their legislation has led to equally restrictive and short-sighted policies. Apart from a few examples like the Maharashtra Regional and Town Planning Act of

1994 that have made heritage conservation an integral part of the Master Plan process, there is a paucity of local and regional mechanisms for protecting, preserving and managing historic sites and landscapes (Chainani 2007a, 440).

Legislation and regulation, however, are just one aspect of the larger heritage management process. They are inadequate in the absence of a robust local mechanism. There is a rapidly growing need for comprehensive heritage management to reconcile the official, often dated efforts of building conservation, with contemporary preservation planning and policies.

2.3. UNDERSTANDING AND MANAGING CULTURAL HERITAGE IN INDIA

2.3.1. Cultural Cognition, Heritage and Preservation

Sociologist David Thomas has described culture as a mental construct that is shared amongst certain people, and affects the way they function, act and react (Thomas 2008). Most importantly, culture manifests itself through cognitive values. Within this idea of a malleable, adaptable culture is rooted the cognitive notion of Indian identity. Social historian Ramachandra Guha describes the process of Indian identity through nation-building in a contested time, involving contested sub-national spaces. Indeed, according to Guha, most people predicted the failure of the Indian state as it was created on August 15, 1947. This was chiefly because of the vastly different 'cultures' of each of the semi-autonomous provinces that existed pre-Independence. It was felt that the centuries-old cultural differences of language, rituals, customs, race, religion and

caste would hinder any unifying efforts for the country. Yet, the shared goal of defeating the British, and of having an independent, democratic republic after centuries of subjugation by various external forces, led to the creation of a unified India, reorganized by the easiest way thought of at that time: linguistically (Guha 2007). This idea of a shared national identity has also manifested itself in the efforts since Independence to excavate, preserve and conserve material remains of the built past (Chadha 2006).

The notion of culture has immense significance for preservation planning and management. It relates to which cultures, material remains and objects of antiquity are included and excluded in the preservation process. It also suggests which cultures (national, sub-national (state) or local, tribal, religious, familial or organizational) are manifested through the preservation process and given preference. In the Indian context, each could intersect with another, thus forming crucial interconnected relationships and "inter-cultural" associations.

The idea of culture also relates to the way in which cognitive values within sub-national, national and international boundaries affect preservation planning and management. Different value systems place different emphasis on what is deemed culturally important. Value systems directly relate to the cognitive ability that grows out of culture, and its interpretation.

These cognitive cultural differences are also manifested in the way preservation and management of heritage is approached in India. The previous critique of the highly

restrictive policies currently followed in India relates directly to these cognitive differences. They are bound by a legal system constructed within a highly Western paradigm--a system created and influenced by the British, and perpetuated by Indians today. Such a system places importance on the archaeological, antiquarian and aesthetic value of a site, often ignoring its historical, social, cultural and/or religious identity. This is a vivid example of cross-cultural cognitive clashes in Indian preservation planning and management that have been continuously perpetuated for over one and a half centuries.

In a multi-ethnic, multi-lingual, multi-cultural country like India, clashes in cognitive values amongst Indians from various parts of the country are also bound to occur. Differences in social-cultural norms, ethnicity, religion and language are just some of the ways in which these values clash. Over the years, religion has played a big role in ascribing value and significance to the historic built environment in India. As sociologist Francis Hsu has argued, the caste-based Hindu society and the equally sectarian Muslim society plays a divisive rather than cohesive role in Indian society (Hsu 1963). This divisiveness manifests itself in strong displays and celebrations of religious identity. This display was most vividly and tragically evident in the case of the Babri Masjid demolition in 1992. A large group of political right-wing Hindu activists from across the nation were mobilized under a misplaced rhetoric of recapturing the “Hindu” identity, and thus by extension their national identity (Bandyopadhyay, Morais, and Chick 2008; Deshpande 2010; Selvakumar 2010).

Sociologists Richard Nisbett and Francis Hsu have both alluded to a sense of collectivism displayed by many Asian societies (Nisbett 2003; Hsu 1963). This collectivism in India is manifested most commonly through religion, and then caste[18]. Taking advantage of this collective agency of a religious group, the centuries old Babri Mosque was razed to the ground overnight, all based on the notion of reclaiming the Hindu identity. This highly complex situation involved the inherent values of a Hindu population, a Muslim population, bureaucrats and public officials administering the area, as well as the archaeologists, historians, and preservationists involved with the site.

For the Hindu population, their religious beliefs took precedence over the inherent religious, social, cultural and historic value of the structure to the Muslim population. The site was irrevocably affected because a partisan group placed more importance on what they perceived was to be the site's 'archaeological' significance, while ignoring the actual 'historic' and religious significance of the structure. More recently, the Supreme Court issued a judgment in this long-fought case, giving all three litigants equal access to the highly volatile and contested site. The three presiding judges perhaps had their judgment complicated by legal, political and cultural implications of the issue. While a moral and ethical judgment would have sided with the Muslim litigants, the eventual judgment blurred the legal and moral constructs in the interest of national integrity and safety of the citizens.

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[18] Religion and caste have played a significant role in shaping the Indian society. Hinduism, as the oldest and most predominant faith in the country, has had more of an impact than the other religions. The Hindu society has been divided on the basis of caste both historically and today (Hsu 1963).

Sub-textually, however, it can be said that the 'archaeological' aspects of the site won at the cost of the site's more recent historical considerations. Extensive surveys conducted by the ASI in 2003, under orders from the Allahabad High Court, revealed the existence of many pillars below the mosque. The ground surveys and subsequent excavations by an ASI team suggested the existence of a 'grand monument' with Hindu iconography at the site where the Babri Masjid then existed. These were interpreted by the ASI as proof of the prior existence of a Hindu structure. Allahabad University professor Dr. Sushil Shrivastava, however, has disproved this assumption by systematically analyzing and debunking every facet of the ASI report arising out of the explorations from 2003 (Shrivastava 2003; Ahmed 2003). There was no clear evidence of the existence of an historic structure of Hindu origin. Therefore, the eventual Supreme Court ruling, though made in the interest of national security, gave more credence to the site's perceived archaeological significance pointing to a Hindu structure rather than the evident one of an historic Islamic mosque.

Similar conflicts between a site's archaeological values versus its historical ones are found across the Indian landscape. While the process has been employed by federal and state agencies for decades, there is now need for change to allow for historic sites to be preserved, managed and represented more efficiently. If the Babri Masjid had been managed more holistically with better interpretation, preservation and presentation of not only its historical but its archaeological landscape, then perhaps the large-scale physical and human tragedy of 1992 could have been avoided.

2.3.2. Managing Cultural Heritage

The cognitive perception of culture, and by extension cultural heritage, has multi-layered implications for the way in which heritage is managed (Figure 16). First, it affects the government policies associated with administration of cultural heritage. Second, it affects the way in which cultural heritage is perceived: as a public good, a private good or a combination of the two, by different stakeholders. These can include the various levels of government, bureaucracy, owners (non-profits, NGOs, individuals) and the users. The case studies in this research, apart from exploring a heritage management paradigm, also illustrate the different ways in which cognitive perception of a cultural heritage site contributes to the way in which it is represented, administered, used and abused.

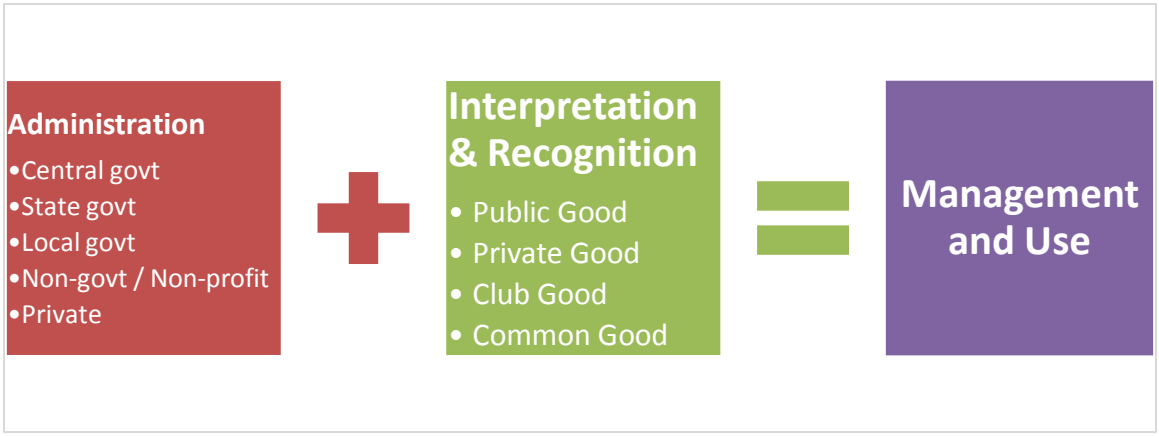

Figure 16: Schematic representation of the cognitive interpretation of cultural heritage and its implications.
Source: Author, 2013.

In recent years, large metropolitan areas like Mumbai and Hyderabad, and smaller cities like Pune, Jaipur, and Nagpur have recognized the threat to their built heritage from not only urban development but also mismanagement. They have taken conscious steps toward creating effective local heritage policies (Ota 2010, 30; Chainani 2007a). This is a paradigm shift in the way in which heritage sites are treated. It heralds a conscious move away from the existing way of creating a nationalistic narrative through the selective inclusion of monumental archaeological sites. It has begun to bring the common, local heritage into focus.

Urban governance involves navigation through the intricate local, state and central bureaucracies, private individuals, organizations (for-profit, non-profit, and non-governmental) and trusts. Administration and preservation of urban historic sites and landscapes involves many of these as stakeholders and interest groups. In urban India, the management (including administration and preservation) of historic sites and landscapes will play an important role in making their future sustainable. The cities of Mumbai, Pune, Nagpur, Kolhapur, Hyderabad, Mahabaleshwar, Panchgani and Jaipur have their own Heritage Commissions/Committees, bylaws and a system in place for listing and providing *local* protection to historic sites and precincts. These are, however, unique. Most other Indian cities have no such system in place to take on the role of managing, developing or conserving historic sites and precincts that enjoy neither central nor state protection (Chainani 2007a).

In cases where a tourist potential is perceived, the Department of Tourism often steps in. The primary aim of that branch of government is often to try and cater to tourists rather than building and promoting local heritage. Different Indian states have a State Department of Archaeology and/or Museums that functions as a custodian of archaeological and architectural antiquity in the state, in many cases ticketing the admission of visitors. Most of these state agencies, however, focus on archaeological excavations, archaeological sites and objects of antiquity, especially the department in the state of Uttar Pradesh. Their cognitive recognition of and approach to preservation and conservation, mimics the policies set in New Delhi.

The Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) functions as the custodian of all sites deemed nationally important; the agency also functions as the representative of Government of India to the UNESCO World Heritage Center. Its approach focuses on not only the archaeological aspects of sites but also their national and international implications. “Monumentality” therefore has for long been their primary cognitive criteria for site designation. Sites are analyzed for their significance to the nationalistic discourse through an archaeological and antiquarian lens. As a consequence, most sites administered by ASI no longer have an intrinsic use except for a visual one, providing an opportunity for its visitors to indulge in ‘ruin-gazing’. And given the Colonial legacy of India’s intricate bureaucratic setup, states across India have also been basing their policies on the same philosophy. While civil society and non-governmental organizations

like INTACH[19] have been advocating for a change in the current mindset, it has been slow in coming.

Several hundred thousand sites across India today remain undesignated by any government agency. In some cases, these are private properties owned by individuals. In others, they are owned and managed by a Trust, Society or some other non-governmental organization. In many urban instances, undesignated historic sites are often the responsibility of local municipalities. A local heritage management mechanism can have the ability to oversee these historic resources that the ASI is unable to designate. The case studies in this research involve different combinations of administration by federal, state and local agencies. Their management, however, also involves cognitive recognition of the historic sites by not only their administrators, but also their users.

The cognitive recognition and interpretation of cultural heritage determines the treatment and use of a particular historic site. Built heritage is not always perceived or presented as a public good. A site's legal, cultural (archaeological, historical), functional, religious and economic associations have an important impact on its interpretation and consequently, its management and use.

Most sites and landscapes of historical value are cultural capital for their stakeholders and users, giving them a form of privilege and power "as legitimate demands for

[19] Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage, similar to the National Trust for Historic Preservation

recognition, deference, obedience, or the services of others" (Olneck 2000, 319). The contemporary heritage industry has also become a site for consumption (Weiss 2007). In India and other Asian countries, this consumption is increasingly playing a crucial role in how their cultural capital is treated, recognized, interpreted and presented.

Table 3: Goods and Services Matrix
Source: Pennsylvania State University, Department of Geography, e-Education Institute website https://www.e-education.psu.edu/geog432/node/277 (accessed September 20, 2013).

	excludable	non-excludable
rivalrous	**Private Goods** A private good is both rivalrous and excludable; *I own and drive my sports car. I paid for it, and I drive it. While I'm driving it, no one else can. And I don't let people who didn't pay for my car drive it anyway.*	**Common Goods** A common good is rivalrous but non-excludable; in other words the supply can be depleted, but people are not restricted in their use of the good. *Natural resources can be thought of as common goods - their supplies are not infinite, but their utilization benefits all.* *Common goods, because they are limited but largely available to all, are susceptible to the Tragedy of the Commons.*
non-rivalrous	**Club or Toll Goods** A club or toll good is excludable, but non-rivalrous (at least to a point); *this would involve things like subscriptions to cable TV, access to private parks, or even membership in the European Union.*	**Public Goods** A public good is both non-rivalrous and non-excludable; *you and I can enjoy this good at the same time without diminishing its utility, and we didn't have to pay for it to enjoy it. Public goods are things like breathing air or enjoying a robust national defense system.*

Sites in India that are administered by government agencies like the ASI, or State Departments of Archaeology, are often presented, interpreted and recognized as public goods (Table 3) that play a role in the nationalistic discourse. More often than not, however, they are club goods (Table 3) by virtue of limited access brought on by ticketing. Sites of antiquarian value that are nominated by the ASI for UNESCO World Heritage status particularly fall under this category. They are presented as epitomes of built Indian cultural heritage. They are, however, packaged as a commodity for the heritage industry, for public tourist consumption. They become club goods by virtue of

the entrance fee charged. Cultural heritage sites designated and managed by government agencies, are not always accessible to all. This is in direct contrast to the essence of cultural heritage sites being “shared heritage” (Weiss 2007). As a result, the local interest groups lose their say in the management and use of the site(s). Such commodification and use of heritage sites administered by government agencies for tourist consumption also restricts future uses of sites. Any uses incompatible with tourist and visitor consumption are avoided. This can lead to conflict as has been seen at the World Heritage Site of Hampi in Karnataka.

Freely accessible, un-ticketed sites of antiquarian value administered by government agencies unfortunately share a similar fate, despite being a public good. Central legislation also supports the restrictive uses of designated sites: the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act of 1958 (amended in 2010) states that a site can only used for the function it held at the time of designation (Government of India 1958; Government of India 2010). This aspect of heritage legislation needs to be amended for historic sites and landscapes to play a bigger role in comprehensive urban development.

Historic sites in India with religious associations are often administered differently. In most cases they are governed by religious or charitable Trusts, Societies or NGOs and may or may not be designated by a government agency. These are club goods, despite

being designated as national and/or state heritage. The nature of their being club goods, however, is slightly different to the case stated previously. Religious structures[20], especially of Hindu or Islamic faith are club goods by virtue of entry restricted to only members of their own faith. The two mosques in Husainabad discussed in a later chapter fall under this category. Other structures that are not restricted by religion are restricted by the imposition of entrance fees, like at the Husainabad and Asafi Imambaras discussed in Chapter 4.

Table 4: Husainabad, Kaiserbagh and Hazratganj historic landscapes as types of goods.
Source: Author, 2013.

	Type of Good
Husainabad	Partly Club Good, Partly Public Good
Kaiserbagh	Partly Private Good, Partly Club Good, Partly Public Good
Hazratganj	Partly Public Good, Partly Club Good, Partly Private Good

Structures administered and managed by a private entity, a for-profit organization or an individual have been rarely designated by government agencies in India. They are usually private goods, unless the primary stakeholder(s) make them public. These sites are governed by local municipal rules as seen in sections of Kaiserbagh and Hazratganj in later chapters. Their function and uses are determined by local land-use patterns, municipal laws and the stakeholders' will. Community members and local interest groups, in most cases, do not have a say in any decision-making related to such sites.

[20] Religious structures as a rule do not have entrance fees or tickets apart from voluntary donations.

Recognition and interpretation of the various sites that comprise a cultural heritage landscape are therefore essential determinants of the functional uses of the sites, which in turn can have an impact on the site's future. These perceptions and cognitive recognition of cultural heritage sites and landscapes and their impact on use are will be highlighted in the following chapters.

IN CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown how prevalent preservation ideologies in India are historically rooted in concepts brought to the country primarily by the British colonizers. In over 150 years of its development, the field of preserving and conserving built heritage in India has borrowed heavily from concepts of archaeology. During this time, legislation in India has also reflected this dependence on concepts of archaeological explorations. It has also influenced public and administrative perceptions of heritage. Today, the fields of architectural conservation, urban conservation and urban development are so interdependent that such antiquated legislation and ideologies fails to achieve their goals. The city of Lucknow in the following chapter in particular illustrates how the development of this ideology over time has influenced preservation at the regional and local levels, and consequently the impact it has had on contemporary preservation and heritage management efforts.

CHAPTER 3: LUCKNOW, A CITY WITH EXTRAORDINARY HERITAGE

The preservation and management of built heritage in the city of Lucknow has evolved into a complex and contested phenomenon. While Lucknow is not unique in its preservation efforts, the way in which they are carried out and the way in which the city has managed its heritage over time in the absence of local legislation makes it an ideal emerging city for this research.

Lucknow, the capital of the state of Uttar Pradesh is by normative standards an ordinary city, historically and culturally rich but rather unremarkable in the other urban aspects that have catapulted Delhi, Mumbai (formerly Bombay), Chennai (formerly Madras), Kolkata (formerly Calcutta), Bangalore, Hyderabad and Ahmedabad into their current Tier 1 city status (McKinsey Global Institute 2010). Both the McKinsey Institute and Ministry of Urban Development have classified Lucknow as a 'Tier 2' emerging city (McKinsey Global Institute 2010; JNNURM 2006).

The city is essentially an administrative and service center that has regionally-significant industrial and commercial activity in addition to an informal economy. It is also one of the largest regional magnets for rural-to-urban migrations (Negi 2005). As a result, the city has a growing migrant population, many of whom find shelter in or adjacent to centrally protected (Figure 17), state protected or undesignated structures of historic and architectural value (Mathur 2010e). Most of these structures are located within, or

in close proximity to the densely packed historic core of the city with an inadequate infrastructure, much like other developing urban centers in India (Kantor & Nair, 2005).

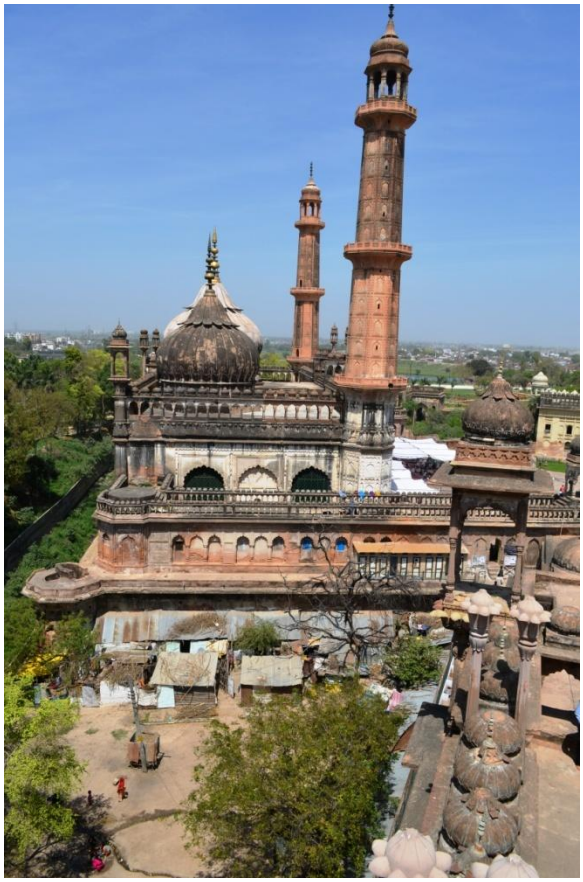

Figure 17: Shanties constructed against the walls of the Asafi Mosque in Husainabad. This image was taken from the roof of the Asafi Imambara structure.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

Figure 18: Buildings of the King George's Medical University have been built right up to the boundary wall of the Asafi Imambara in the densely packed precinct of Husainabad.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

The historic core of the city contains examples of remarkable building campaigns from several hundred years of Islamic and British rule. As a result, there has been considerable academic and literary focus on the architectural heritage of the city (Das 2008; Das 1991; Das 1998; Tandan 2001; Tandan 2008; Llewellyn-Jones 2003; Hasan

1983; Graff 1997; Mookherji 1883; Abbas 2009; Hay 1939). The work of Lucknow's historians has been aided significantly by the photographic and lithographic works of Felice Beato, Sir David Scott Dodgson, Darogha Abbas Alli, Thomas & William Daniells and others (Alkazi Foundation for the Arts 2006; Llewellyn-Jones 2006; Alli 1874; Michell 1998; Daniell 1962). The vast collection of images depicting Lucknow, as it was through most of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has sporadically generated local interest in Lucknow's heritage and its preservation. Such photographic documentation has also helped preservationists in the city in designing and carrying out restoration projects as the case studies of Kaiserbagh and Hazratganj will illustrate (Prakash 2012; Ali 2012b; Asheesh Srivastava 2012b).

Much has also been written about the contribution of the Nawabs[21] and the British Colonizers to the architectural development of the city. While the city slowly expanded with every successive rule, the most prolific development came during the Nawabi period[22] of the city's history. The three historic landscapes discussed in the following chapters were developed by different Nawabs and are located within the historic urban core (refer to red text in Figure 19). They not only represent the city's diverse architectural and cultural heritage, but also different models of heritage management for analysis. Therefore it is helpful to understand the larger context of the city before looking at each historic landscape in the following chapters.

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[21] A Nawab was a native governor during the Mughal Empire, usually a Muslim nobleman of high status.
[22] This was roughly from the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century.

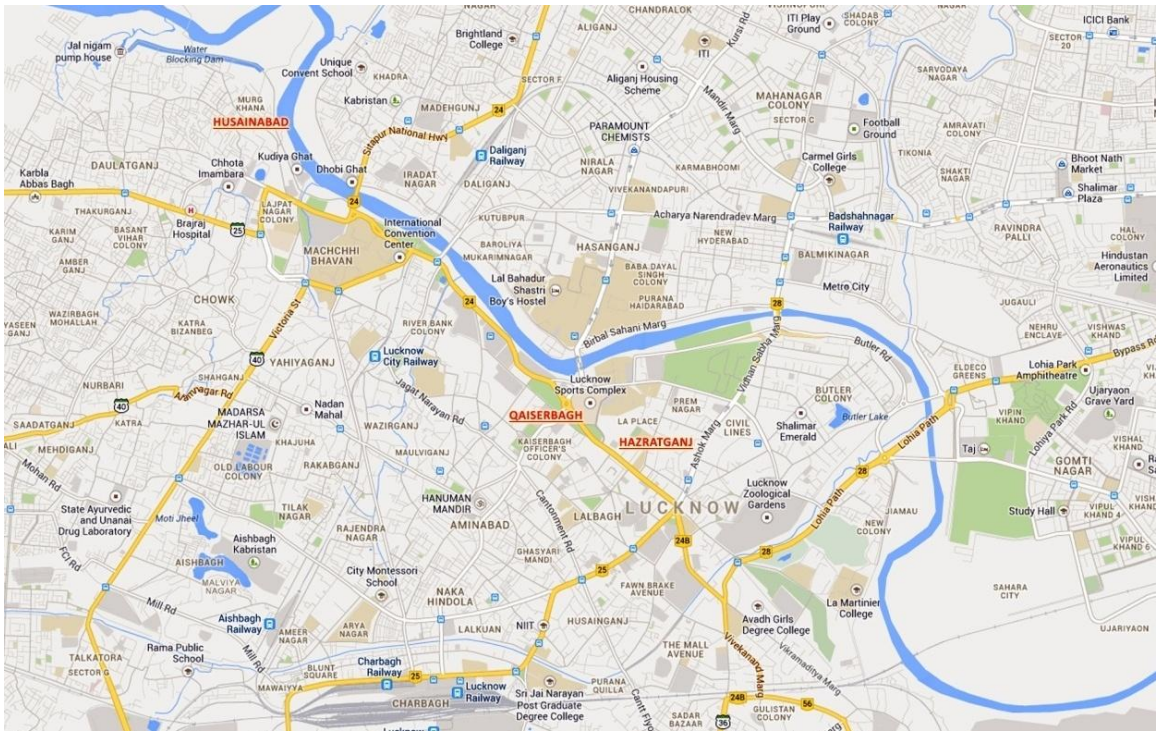

Figure 19: Partial map of the city of Lucknow showing location of Husainabad (top), Kaiserbagh (middle) and Hazratganj (bottom) with respect to River Gomti.
Source: Google Maps, 2013.

3.1. LUCKNOW: THE CITY IN HISTORY

Situated on the banks of the river Gomti in northern India, the birth of the area we now know as Lucknow is said to date back to the 7th century BCE *Suryavanshi* dynasty of Ayodhya. With a lack of much written or archaeological evidence, the ancient origins are steeped in 'tradition' and lore. Initially called Lakshmanpur, the city can claim a direct connection to *Lakshman*, a principle character in the Vedic period epic, *Ramayana*. This mythological belief, however, also has an archaeological basis, given the existence of *Lakshman Tila*, an artificial mound that still exists and is venerated by Hindus in the area (Figure 20). After the fall of the *Suryavanshi* dynasty, the area is said to have fallen to

decay, inhabited mainly by local tribes (Town & Country Planning Department 1971; Hay 1939; A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011, 145).

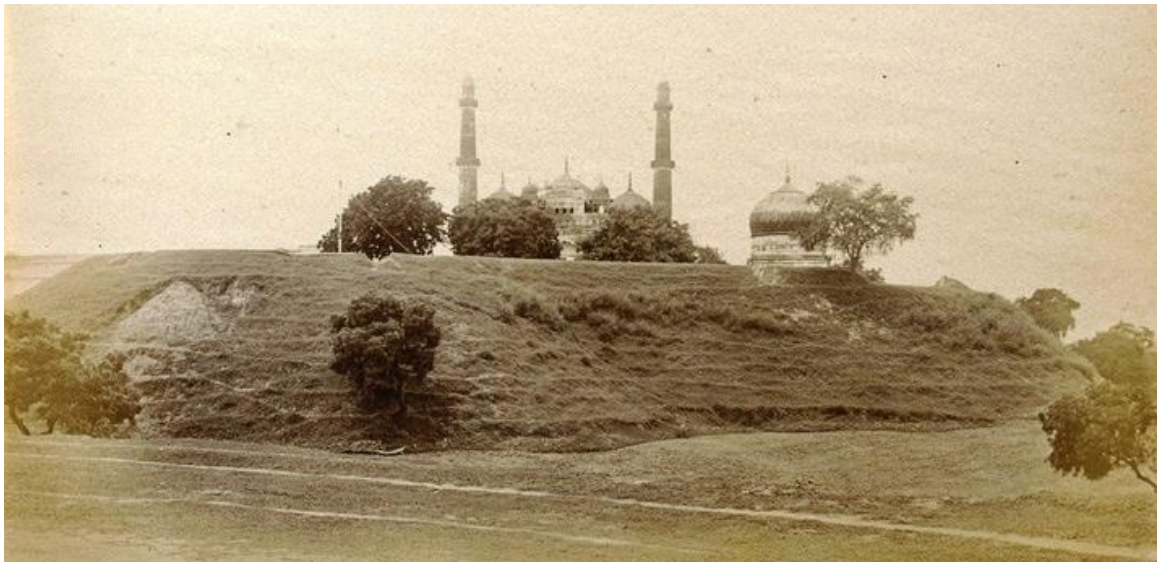

Figure 20: Darogha Abbas Ali, *Luchman Tela or Muchee Bhawun*, photographic print, 1874. From: The British Library, http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/l/019pho000000988u00038000.html (accessed August 07, 2013).

With a beginning based in mythology, Lucknow's history got more systematic with the advent of Muslim rulers in the thirteenth century, when the *Shaikhs* of Bijnor drove out the Brahmins and *Kayasthas* living around the *Lakshman Tila*, and were later joined by the *Pathans* of Ramnagar. The two groups divided the administration and physical development of the city of Lucknow between them: the *Pathans* administered and developed land till the *Gol Darwaza* (Circular Gate) and the *Shaikhs* took care of all the land of the Gate from the *Macchi Bhawan* to the Residency (Town & Country Planning Department 1971). A fort, called *Qila Lakhana*, was built by the *Shaikhs* at roughly the same site where *Macchi Bhawan* was later constructed (Figure 32 and Figure 33). The resulting habitation around the *Qila* led to the creation of a town, giving rise to *Lakhnau*,

the name borrowing heavily from the fort (Town & Country Planning Department 1971; A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011, 145).

The next phase of administrative and physical development in the area was carried out by the *Tughluqs, Lodhis,* Afghans and *Mughals* respectively, each of whose seats of power were at Delhi. It was not until the area was under Mughal rule (under Emperor Akbar) a few decades later, however, that the city began to develop. Akbar, well known in Indian history for his religious tolerance, was instrumental in giving impetus to different *mohallas* (neighborhoods) and communities, and allowing them to flourish. While successive Mughal emperors continued to bestow Lucknow with their patronage in trade, commerce and industry, living conditions in the city in general were rather squalid. Apart from adding a mosque at *Lakshman Tila* (Figure 20), the successive *Mughals* did not make many remarkable contributions (Town & Country Planning Department 1971).

The most prolific development eventually occurred under the *Nawabs* (Appendix B) who wrested control from the last great Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb's ineffectual successors. During their rule, Lucknow was one of the most prosperous and largest cities of northern India (A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011, 146). Each *Nawab* from the 18th century onwards began prolific building campaigns across the city, beginning with modest *mohallas* (neighborhoods) by Saadat Khan. Khan's second successor, Shuja-ud-daula, not only helped the settlement develop into a town comprising a few hundred houses around the *Macchi Bhawan* area, but also moved the capital to Faizabad.

It was Asaf-ud-daula (Shuja-ud-daula's son) who bought focus back to Lucknow by making it his capital. The Nawab, through prolific personal tastes, set about changing the landscape of the city and giving birth to an initial version of the Lucknow that exists today. He not only replicated a Constantinople gate in the form of the *Rumi Darwaza* (Rumi Gateway, Figure 23) but also constructed a bridge (Figure 21) to rival that on the river Seine in Paris. Asaf-ud-daula's reign also sponsored several sites and landscapes that form an integral part of the tourism industry in the city today. He allowed the city to grow outward beyond the Macchi Bhawan and Chowk area (Figure 19). He commissioned various complexes: Daulat Khana including the Asafi Kothi (Figure 25); the Husainabad Imambaras; and the Bibiapur Kothi (Figure 26). Asaf-ud-daula also built several gardens: Aishbagh, Charbagh, Yahiyaganj, Wazirganj, Amaniganj, Fatehganj, Rakabganj, Daulatganj, Begumganj and Nakkhas. In addition to these, the Nawab also commissioned various bazaars and market streets.

Figure 21: Darogha Abbas Ali, *Stone bridge*, photographic print, 1874.
From: The British Library, http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/s/019pho000000988u00037000.html (accessed August 10, 2013).

Figure 22: Sir David Scott Dodgson, *Iron Bridge from the left bank of the Gumtee,* colored lithograph, 1860.
From: The British Library, http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/other/019xzz000000270u00023000.html (accessed August 14, 2013).

Asaf-ud-daula's son Saadat Ali Khan was instrumental in commissioning some of the most well-known architectural landmarks of the city, and so were his successors Gazi-ud-din- Haider and Nasir-ud-din-Haider. The next Nawab of Oudh, Mohammad Ali Shah undertook several building campaigns including Husainabad, the first historic precinct discussed in detail in the following chapters. His son and successor Amjad Ali Shah not only laid down a new road connecting Lucknow to Cawnpore (modern-day Kanpur) but also built an iron bridge (Figure 22) across the river and developed Hazratganj, the last historic precinct discussed. His son, Wajid Ali Shah, the last of the *Nawabs*, undertook amongst other things the construction of Kaiserbagh, the second case study for this research (Town & Country Planning Department 1971).

Figure 23: View of the Rumi Darwaza.
Source: Author, 2011.

Figure 24: Sir David Scott Dodgson, *View from the Iron Bridge*, colored lithograph, 1860.
From: The British Library, http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/other/019xzz000000270u00024000.html (accessed August 29, 2013).

Figure 25: Remains of Sheesh Mahal (Asafi Kothi) within the Daulat Khana settlement. Today only the façade of the once-majestic kothi remains. The descendents of Nawab Asaf-ud-daula have gradually constructed several living quarters and demolished the rest of the structure.
Source: Subir Roy, "This was Sheesh Mahal Once". The Hindu, June 12, 2012. http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/this-was-sheesh-mahal-once/article3517467.ece (accessed September 29, 2013).

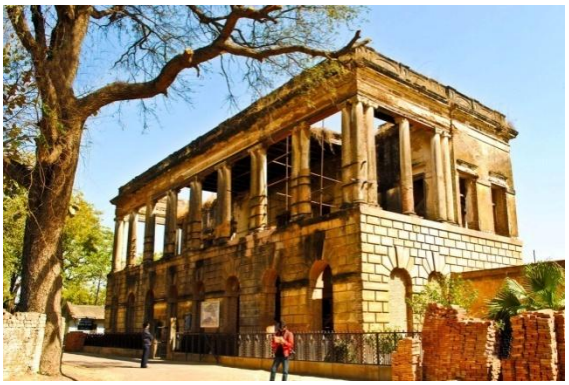

Figure 26: Bibiapur Kothi.
Source: The Lucknow Society, 2011.

The population of Lucknow during the reign of the *Nawabs* was estimated to be around 300,000, divided into approximately three areas. The first, housing mostly merchants of the city, was congested and dirty with narrow streets and alleys. The second, newer part had wider streets housing members of the king's family as well as his ministers. The third comprised mosques, palaces, gardens and pavilions and was known as the palace complex (Town & Country Planning Department 1971; Hay 1939; Mookherji 1883). By the 1850s, the city's population had doubled to 6,43,240 (A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011, 146).

The addition of lavish palace complexes, gardens and other structures continued throughout every successive Nawabi rule. Lucknow's urban landscape, however, began to undergo another type of change with the onset of Colonial rule. The last Nawab of the province of Avadh[23] (or Oudh), Wajid Ali Shah, surrendered the administration and control of Oudh to the East India Company in 1856. Some of the first building campaigns by the Colonial regime involved fortification of the Residency complex (Figure 27 to Figure 31) and the Macchi Bhawan palace (Figure 32 and Figure 33), and demolition of buildings that stood immediately outside the more traditionally-settled areas. This created a precedent for politically-motivated destruction of historic sites in the city. This notion of changing the urban (indigenous) landscape especially during the Colonial regime in response to changing political and economic conditions has been called "dependent urbanism", and is seen across the many Indian cities that were major seats of Colonial power, like Lucknow (Sen 2010). Despite the politically-motivated demolitions, in the period preceding the 1857 War, Lucknow had expanded mostly along the southern bank of the river with the exception of a small settlement in the Trans-Gomti area (A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011, 148).

[23] Today known as Uttar Pradesh, the most populous state in northern India

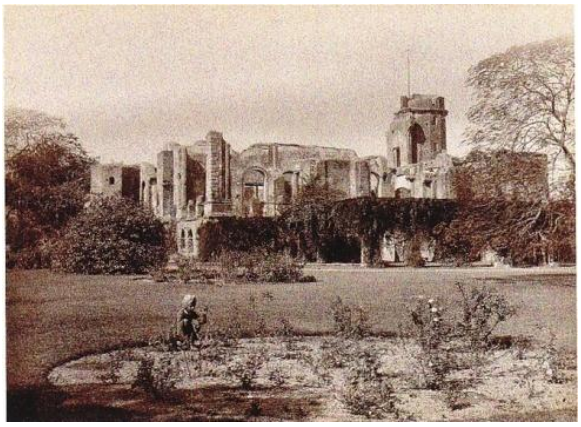

Figure 27: G.W. Lawrie & Co., *Ruins of the Residency, gelatin silver print,* 1890s, 205x280mm.
From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 113.

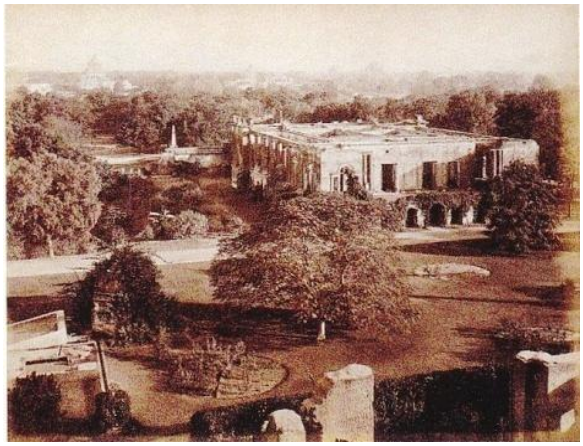

Figure 28: Unknown photographer, *Banqueting Hall seen from the Residency Tower with the Chattar Manzil and Qaiserbagh beyond,* albumin print, 1870s, 210x278mm.
From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 120.

Figure 29: Remains of the main Residency building.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

Figure 30: Begum Kothi within the Residency Complex.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

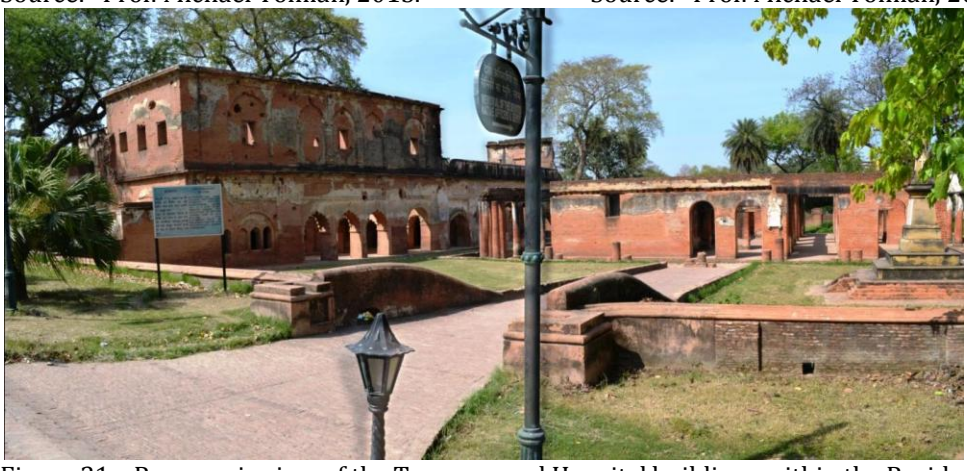

Figure 31: Panoramic view of the Treasury and Hospital buildings within the Residency complex.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

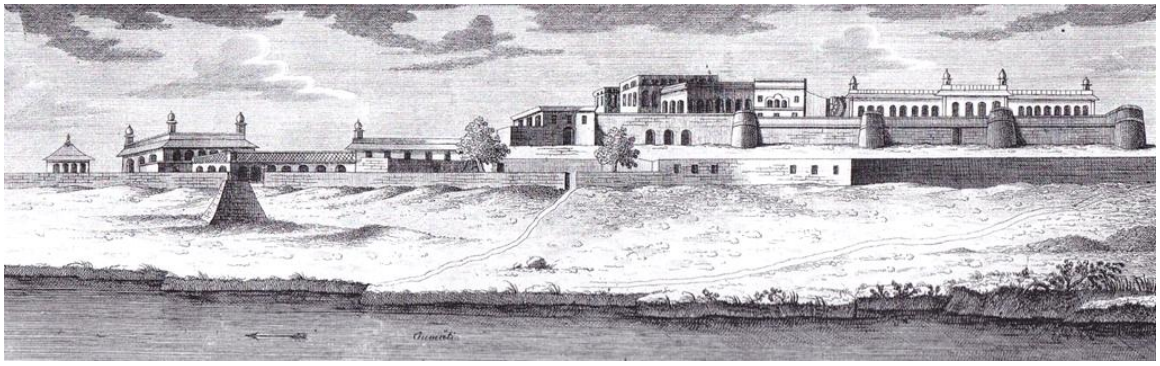

Figure 32: Joseph Tieffenthaler (engraving by Kratzenstein), *Palatium quod Laknoi visitum ripae Gumatis adstium [Macchi Bhavan],* Berlin, 1786. From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 12.

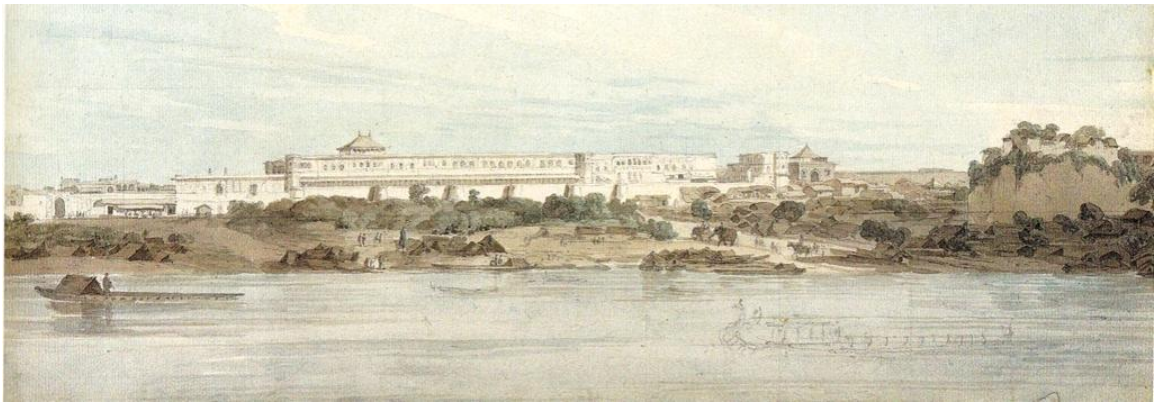

Figure 33: Thomas Daniell and William Daniell, *The Palace of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula from the River Gomti (The Macchi Bhawan),* pencil and watercolor, 14-16 August 1789. From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 9.

Lucknow also underwent significant changes in the aftermath of the 1857 War of Independence[24]. The city lost nearly half of its population due to the economic and physical destruction wreaked by Colonel Robert Napier. Under his leadership, many of the traditional, older areas of Lucknow were either reorganized or razed to the ground to allow the British forces more control. Three main vehicular routes were constructed

[24] Many historians have also referred to this as 'The Revolt of 1857' or the 'First Mutiny of 1857'.

as the main arteries of the city, which was further divided when the railway line was constructed in 1862 (A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011, 147). The cantonment was also moved south-west, away from the main residential areas in the north. This left space for the Civil Lines (today known as Hazratganj) to develop in between these two major population hubs, housing the non-Europeans (A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011, 147).

By 1877, Lucknow was the largest city in India, second only to the Presidencies of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay (Government of Northwestern Provinces and Oudh 1877; A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011, 146). That year, it also lost come of its earlier political prominence with the merging of Oudh and North-Western Provinces into United Provinces and the capital moving to Allahabad (A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011, 148). In the post-nineteenth century era, Lucknow further lost some of its earlier prestige, slowly falling behind several other cities in population, development and industry.

3.2. POST-NINETEENTH-CENTURY LUCKNOW

The city of Lucknow saw significant changes post-nineteenth century. At the turn of the century, the city was the largest in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (Nevill 1904). In 1908, the Commissioner of Lucknow proposed several schemes to improve the city's sanitary conditions. He felt that the city did not have any provision for east-west traffic. The major system of roads existed from Macchi Bhawan to Victoria Park Center, and from LaTouche Road that extended from the railway station, to Kaiserbagh. The Lucknow Committee also felt that several unsanitary *mohallas* (neighborhoods) needed

to be cleared of congestion to provide for more open spaces. These were Narhai, Husainganj, Ganeshganj, Kasai Bara, Kandhari Bazaar, Chikmandi, Rathkhana, Chawalwali Gali, Kalkaji and Charahi Mahu Lal, located mainly in the Cis-Gomti[25] area, in and around the historic core. Given its relatively open character, Aishbagh (Figure 40) was one of the five areas identified where the residents from the unsanitary *mohallas* were relocated (Government of United Provinces 1908). These schemes began to be implemented in 1912 and were carried on until 1916. Meanwhile, the provincial government attempted to attract buyers for properties it began developing along the newly constructed roads and highways on the city's periphery (Government of United Provinces 1912; Government of United Provinces 1915; Government of United Provinces 1916a).

In 1918, the first Governor of United Provinces, Sir Harcourt Butler, proposed and formed a committee of eight members to comprehensively develop Lucknow including: water-supply; drainage; side-walks along the main roads; reduction of dust nuisance, oiling of roads etc; educational schemes; protection from floods; markets; Ghazi-ud-din Haider Canal; Town Hall; layout for the extension of the town, with special provision for a University across the river, including the location of sites for the new Shia and Kshhattriya colleges; road on the other side of the Gomti (river); model dwellings; improvement of approach from the railway station; broad roads and parks; "…and any

[25] Cis-Gomti and Trans-Gomti are the way in which the two banks of the river are denoted, comprising the historic core and the post-Independence residential areas respectively.

other schemes for the improvement of Lucknow which are within practical politics". Until 1918, various isolated schemes had been implemented in Lucknow by the Municipal Board, the *Nazul*[26] Department or the Local Government (creation of the Improvement Trust was still pending by this time). Butler therefore proposed a comprehensive scheme to tackle the various issues apparent with the growing city (Government of United Provinces 1918a).

In the 1920s, the main roads which were perceived to have heavy traffic in the future, were given additional width to account for future widening. This was especially done for the roads located towards the outskirts, where land was cheap. The Municipal Board in Lucknow earned additional income by letting out these extra strips of land along Canning Street and Victoria Street as gardens at higher rents (Bogle 1929, 27).

The 1920s also saw a new wave of development in the city, with construction under the governorship of Sir Harcourt Butler. He moved the state's administration back to Lucknow, spurring on the construction of iconic city landmarks like the Council House (Figure 38), the Charbagh Railway Station (Figure 36), Canning College, King George's Medical College (Figure 34), and areas like Civil Lines, Mall Avenue and Lajpat Nagar (A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011, 148).

[26] The *Nazul* Department deals with properties that belong to the state/provincial government and are administered by the local government. These include properties that are acquired by the state.

Figure 34: Main building of the King George's Medical University (formerly College).
Source: The Lucknow Society, 2012.

Figure 35: King George's Medical College in 1979.
Source: Government of Uttar Pradesh. 1980. "Lucknow : Summary of the City's Comprehensive Development". Lucknow (India).

Figure 36: The Charbagh Railway Station, Lucknow.
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

Figure 37: The Charbagh Railway Station, 1979.
Source: Government of Uttar Pradesh. 1980. "Lucknow : Summary of the City's Comprehensive Development". Lucknow (India).

Figure 38: The Council House is today known as Vidhan Sabha.
Source: Author, 2013.

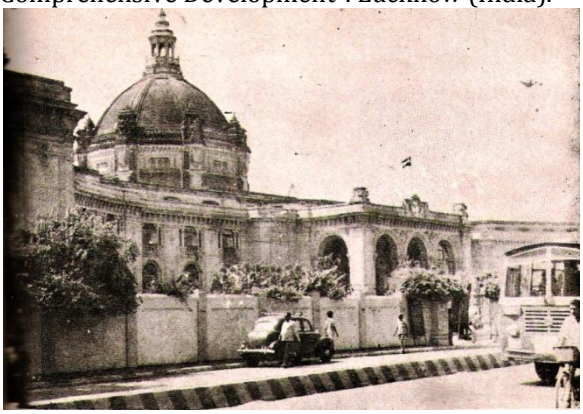

Figure 39: The Council House, 1979.
Source: Government of Uttar Pradesh. 1980. "Lucknow : Summary of the City's Comprehensive Development". Lucknow (India).

Lucknow also had numerous playing fields. Their demand, however, was so high that sports clubs in the city had to be allotted turns (Bogle 1929, 33). The 1920s was also a period when Lucknow and Bangalore had better public health conditions and mortality rates than cities like Bombay, Calcutta, Ahmedabad and Cawnpore.

British Engineer Captain James Linton Bogle and English Professor Patrick Geddes have both called Lucknow a 'garden city' and attributed its relatively healthier conditions to a high concentration of open spaces and parks (Bogle 1929, 38; Geddes 1916, 58). Figure 43 from 1929 shows an aerial view of the Chowk area in the heart of Lucknow's historic core. Deliberate green spaces were created in the congested parts of the old city to improve health conditions. Figure 40 gives an indication of the settlement pattern in Chowk in 1916. These parks and open spaces were a result of the successive building campaigns by the Nawabs and the British Colonizers lasting over three centuries. Some of the "*baghs*" (gardens) dating to the Nawabi period of Lucknow's history were slowly appropriated by the local administration over time and converted into residential areas (A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011). Aishbagh (Garden of Leisure) shown in Figure 40 (red star) was one such large open green area that is now a dense residential neighborhood of the city.

The decades between 1920 and 1940 were architecturally and institutionally significant ones for Lucknow. The University of Lucknow was established during this time in the Trans-Gomti area, immediate across the river from the historic core. In 1937, this brought the team of Walter Burley Griffin and Marion Mahony Griffin to Lucknow,

having won the design for the University of Lucknow Library (Figure 41 and Figure 42). In Lucknow, the Griffins also designed a library to house the Husainya Collection, a student union building for the University of Lucknow, the *Pioneer* Press, and a few individual residences. Eventually however, due to his untimely death, the University Library was built in a different design (Lang 2002, 18; Tillotson 1989, 57).

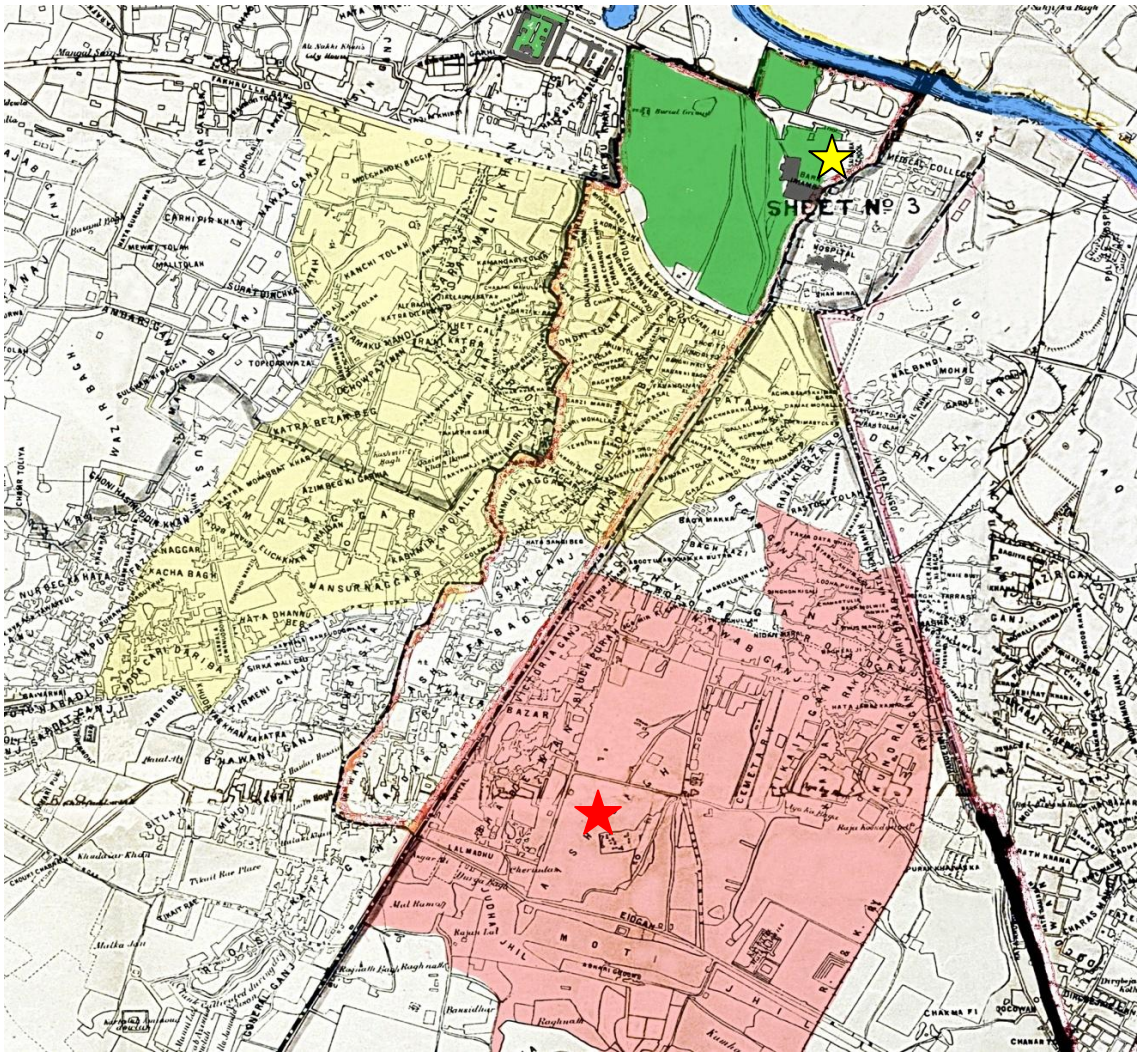

Figure 40: Part of settlement plan for Lucknow, 1916. This part of the plan shows the approximate boundaries of the neighborhoods of Chowk (yellow) and Aishbagh (red). The thick black and red lines were part of the original plan indicating jurisdictions of local police stations (*thanas*). The large green area is the park adjacent to the Asafi Imambara (yellow star), part of the Husainabad complex discussed in Chapter 4.
Source: Government of United Provinces. 1916. "Municipal Block File no.20E". Lucknow (India).

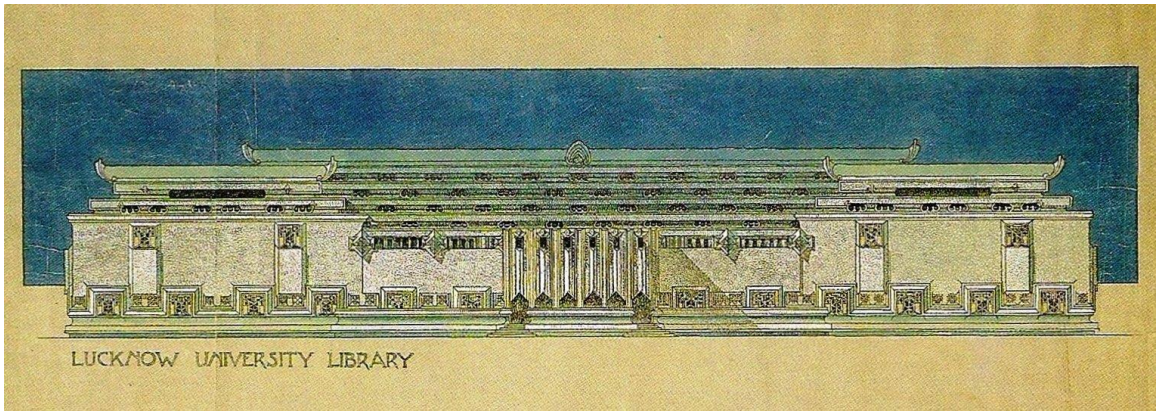

Figure 41: Walter Burley Griffin's design for the University of Lucknow Library, 1936.
Source: The Walter Burley Griffin Society website, http://www.griffinsociety.org/lives_and_works/architecture.html (accessed October 10, 2013).

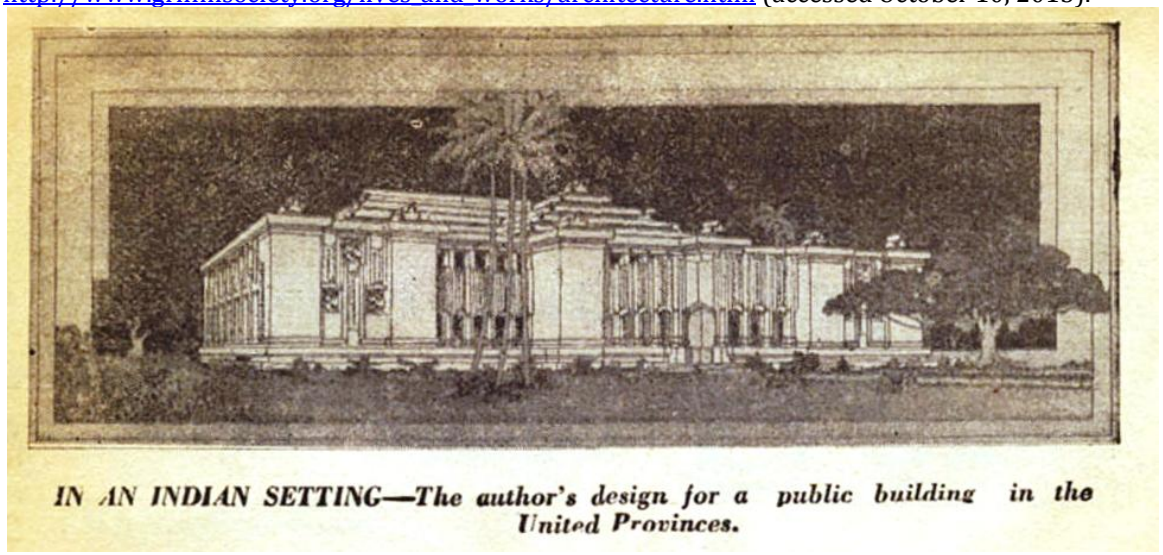

Figure 42: Walter Burley Griffin's design for a public building in Lucknow, 1937.
Source: Ryerson and Burham Archives, The Art Institute of Chicago website. http://digital-libraries.saic.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/mqc/id/48395/rec/40 (accessed October 10, 2013).

Figure 43: Unknown photographer. *Aeroplane photograph of Chowk showing congestion of houses, on which is indicated open spaces as now cleared and under construction as playgrounds.*
Source: James Bogle. 1929. *Town Planning in India,*. London [etc.]: Oxford University Press. p33.

In August 1947, when India gained independence, it was also partitioned, resulting in large-scale displacement of people across both sides of the newly created India-Pakistan border. By December 1947, the population of Lucknow had multiplied, resulting in overcrowding, homelessness and encroachments. When representatives of the Development Boards of Kanpur, Allahabad and Lucknow met with the State Minister for Development on December 4, 1947, it was proposed to begin immediate construction of *kaccha*[27] housing quarters for refugees with locally available coal, cement and bricks. Eventually three types of houses of the same design but different materials were proposed for each city. In Lucknow, the scheme was executed by the Town Planner of the city (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1948).

A development committee (called the Lucknow Development Committee) was also constituted in 1947 to work on the housing shortage in Lucknow. They recommended the development of sixteen neighborhoods to accommodate the growing population. By September 1950, the Buildings & Roads Branch of the Public Works Department in the state had acquired over 330 acres of land for the first of such a residential development: Mahanagar. The location of this land (Trans-Gomti) was across the river from the traditional settlement comprising the historic core of the city (Cis-Gomti) and in close proximity to Faizabad Road, the main highway connecting the center of Lucknow to the city of Faizabad. It was about two miles from the Council House (Vidhan Sabha, Figure

[27] Kaccha translates to "not permanent" in Hindi. This referred to housing made of materials that would not last more than ten years.

44), located in the heart of Lucknow. The project included housing quarters for government officers and staff, institutional and commercial buildings, and plots of land for private single-family residential construction (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1947a).

Figure 44: The Vidhan Sabha (Council House) is the Indian equivalent of the State Capitol in the United States.
Source: Author, 2013.

The Lucknow Development Committee also notified land up to five miles around Lucknow to be earmarked for expansion and development schemes for the city (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1947b). In addition to the aftermath of the Partition, Lucknow also dealt with floods in 1948. Extensive flood relief work was carried out by the Town Planning Office and the Public Works Department (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1952, 5).

By the end of 1949, the Aminabad Park (today known as Jhandewala Park, Figure 45), a major open space in the area, was completely overtaken with refugees. In order to bring healthy living conditions back to the already-congested locality (yellow area in Figure 46), the Municipal Board, in consultation with the Relief & Rehabilitation Department proposed to relocate the refugees to different parts of the city and redevelop the park. Mixed-use development comprising shops, offices and residences were planned for

Shahnajaf Road, Bisheshwar Nath Road, Purani Mandi Chowk and residential apartments on Tulsi Das Marg (formerly Victoria Street) to accommodate the refugees. The Relief & Rehabilitation Department provided project funding through loans to the Municipal Board for these projects (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1949a; Government of Uttar Pradesh 1950).

Figure 45: Jhandewala Park (Aminabad Park) today. Over the years it has been landscaped by the Lucknow Municipal Corporation. Its maintenance, however, still remains a major issue.
Source: Author, 2013.

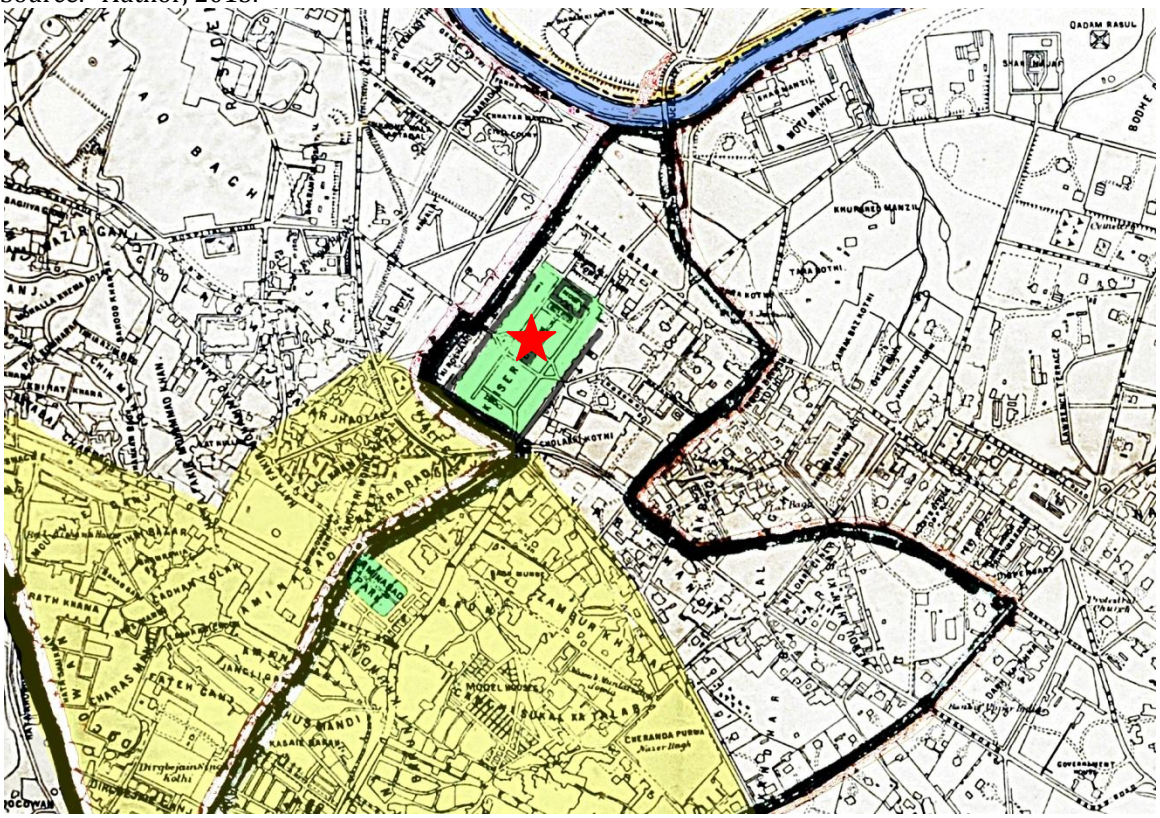

Figure 46: Part of the settlement plan of Lucknow, 1916. This part of the plan shows the location of the Aminabad park with respect to Kaiserbagh (red star), the case study described in Chapter 5. The approximate area of the Aminabad locality in shown in yellow with the Aminabad Park in its center.
Source: Government of United Provinces. 1916. "Municipal Block File no.20E". Lucknow (India).

The early 1950s again marked a period of neighborhood development in Lucknow, resulting in its further physical expansion to about 50 sq.km (A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011, 148). Between 1901 and 1950 residential areas like Daliganj, Babuganj, Old Hyderbad and Nishatganj were developed in the Trans-Gomti area (A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011, 148). During the 1950s several residential schemes were launched: the Chandganj Neighborhood Scheme, River Bank Housing Scheme (Figure 47 and Figure 48), Officers Flats at Park Road, Bhopal House Refugee Shopping-cum-Residential Flats[28] in Lalbagh (Figure 51 and Figure 52), Murlinagar Scheme, Nabiullah Road Housing Scheme (Figure 49 and Figure 50), and the Lawrence Terrace Shopping-cum-Housing Scheme at Ashok Marg (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1952).

By 1951-52, a large portion of the encroachments from Aminabad Park had been relocated to different parts of the city, including new markets in Chowk (Figure 53 and Figure 54) and Bhopal House (near Hazratganj, Figure 51 and Figure 52). A large plot of land, located near Kaiserbagh Market and owned by the Church Missionary Trust Association, was also acquired by the Lucknow Improvement Trust to relocate the remaining shops at Aminabad Park (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1951). Towards the end of the decade more residential colonies were added in the Trans-Gomti area: Nishatganj, Niralanagar, Indiranagar, Aliganj and Gomtinagar (A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011,

[28] Bhopal House is also briefly discussed in Chapter 6 as part of the revitalization project undertaken at Hazratganj in 2010.

148). Together with Mahanagar, today these areas have some of the largest concentration of planned residential development in the city, seen in Figure 55.

Figure 47: River Bank Scheme in progress in Lucknow.
Source: Government of Uttar Pradesh. 1952. *Progressive Uttar Pradesh : Town Planning.* Lucknow: Publications Bureau, Information Directorate. p29.

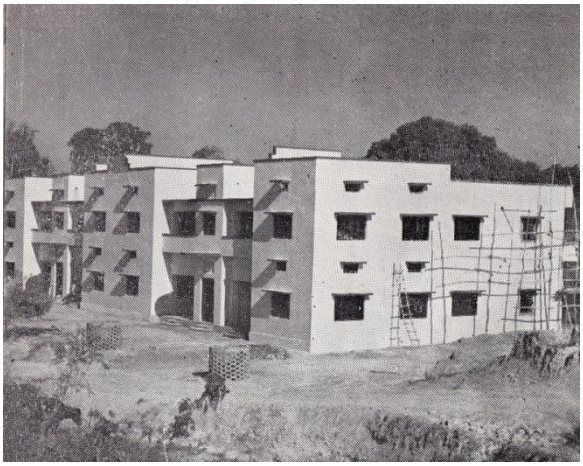

Figure 48: Detail of block C in the River Bank Scheme.
Source: Government of Uttar Pradesh. 1952. *Progressive Uttar Pradesh : Town Planning.* Lucknow: Publications Bureau, Information Directorate. p30.

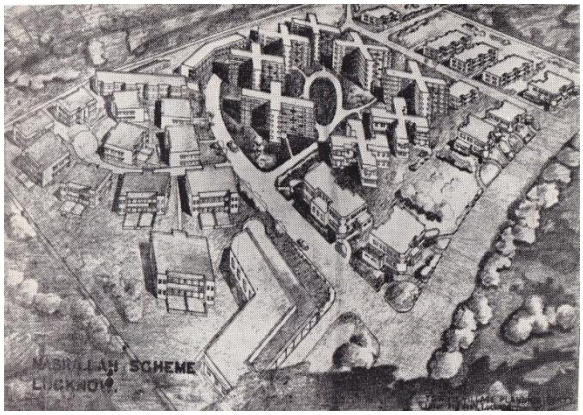

Figure 49: Bird's eye view of the Nabiullah Road Housing Scheme.
Source: Government of Uttar Pradesh. 1952. *Progressive Uttar Pradesh : Town Planning.* Lucknow: Publications Bureau, Information Directorate. p33.

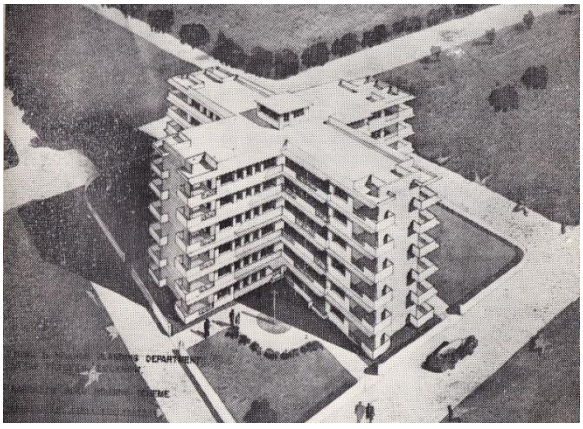

Figure 50: Detail of one multi-story block in Nabiullah Road Scheme.
Source: Government of Uttar Pradesh. 1952. *Progressive Uttar Pradesh : Town Planning.* Lucknow: Publications Bureau, Information Directorate. p34.

Figure 51: Site for Bhopal House project
Source: Government of Uttar Pradesh. 1952. *Progressive Uttar Pradesh : Town Planning.* Lucknow: Publications Bureau, Information Directorate. p24.

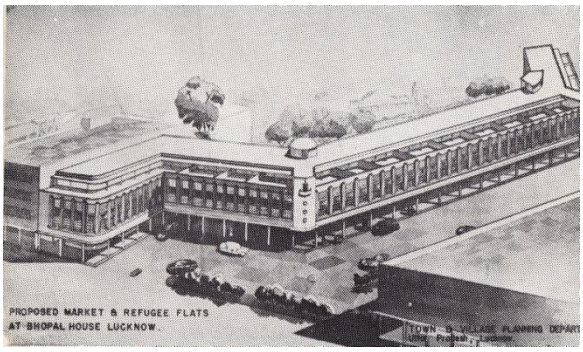

Figure 52: Proposed design for Bhopal House.
Source: Government of Uttar Pradesh. 1952. *Progressive Uttar Pradesh : Town Planning.* Lucknow: Publications Bureau, Information Directorate. p25.

Figure 53: The narrow, traditional market streets of Chowk.
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

Figure 54: Narrow lanes of Chowk with commercial activity at the street level.
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

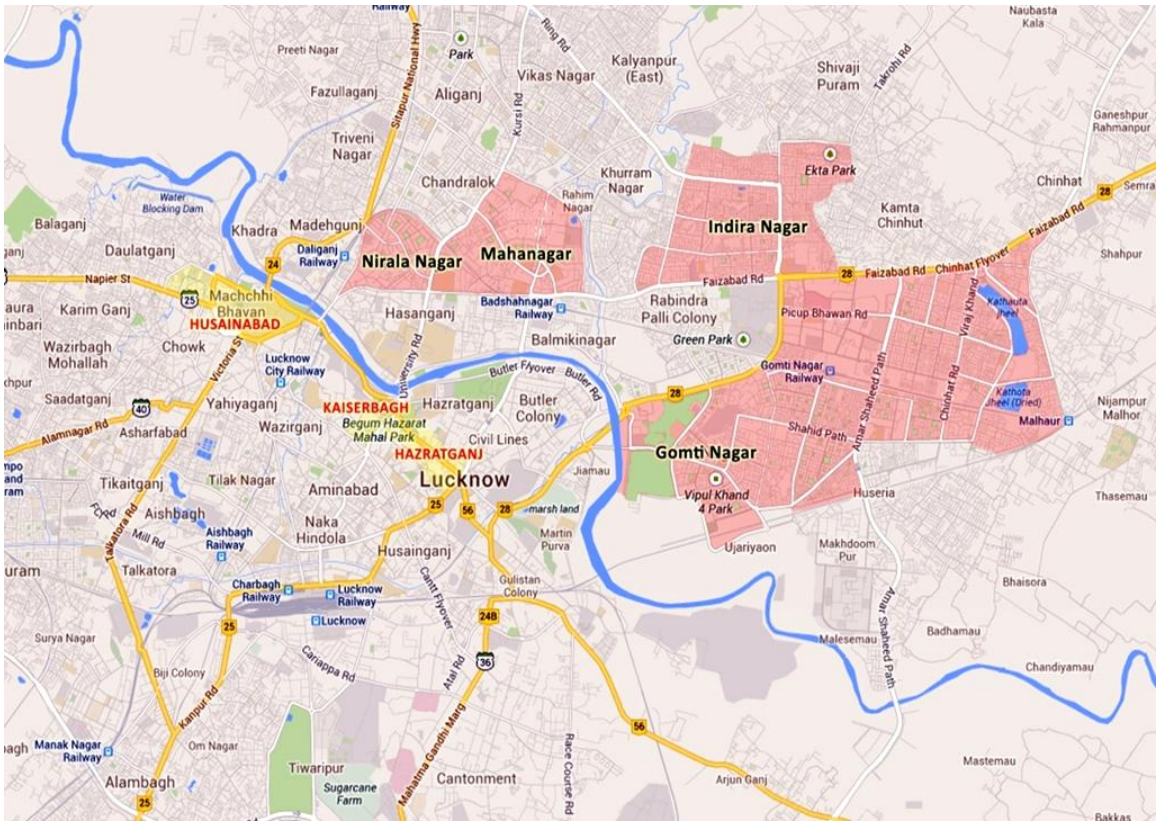

Figure 55: Partial map of the city of Lucknow showing the three historic landscapes in the Cis-Gomti area and the various post-Independence residential colonies developed in the Trans-Gomti area. Source: Google Maps, 2013.

By 1961 Lucknow, was classified as a “medium-sized” city with a population of over 0.6 million (Gould 1961, 116). Lucknow grew to a size of about 100 sq.km by 1971, expanding towards the main highways running through the city: Sitapur Road, Faizabad Road, Kanpur Road and Rae Bareli Road. The city’s physical size tripled in the next decade owing to a growing middle class and industry (A. K. Singh and Jafri 2011, 161). In 1980, the population of the city of Lucknow (excluding the outer suburbs of Malihabad and Mohanlalganj) was over 1.1 million (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1980, 3). The size and population of the city got a fillip owing to the development of large-scale industries

in the area: Scooters India Limited, Amausi Textiles Limited, RG Vikram Cotton Mills, UP Drug & Pharmaceuticals Limited, Mohan Meakin Beverage Limited, Mohan Gold Water Limited, Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL), UP Instruments Limited, Northern India Iron Works, The *Pioneer* Printing Press Limited, Lucknow Producers Cooperative Mil Union Limited, Eveready Flash Light Company, Industrial Gases Limited, Industrial Electrode Gauges, Flour Mills, Engineering Works, Electricity Works and many more (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1980, 114). These industries, coupled with the significant presence of traditional small-scale handicraft industries like *chikankari* in Chowk (Figure 56), *zardozi* and filigree work in Aminabad, and pottery work in Chinhat, continue to support and sustain the city's economic growth.

Figure 56: An example of the *chikankari* hand-embroidery work that forms a major small-scale industry in Lucknow and has added to its regional and national popularity.
Source: Author, 2013.

The decades immediately after Independence were also significant in bringing modern architecture to Lucknow. Well-known Indian architect Achyut Kanvinde's designs for the National Botanical Research Institute (1957), residential hostels for the King George's Medical College (1960-70) and the Toxicology Research Center (1969, Figure 57) heralded the arrival of a new architectural, institutional and industrial phase in Lucknow (Lang 2002, 51). AGK Menon's 1977 modernist design for St. Joseph's Cathedral in Hazratganj, added to Lucknow's changing architectural vocabulary. Other iconic buildings like the Ravindralaya (an auditorium, Figure 59), Bal Sanghralaya (Children's Museum, Figure 60) and Joseph Allen Stein's Bankers Institute for Rural Development (BIRD, Figure 58) were amongst a host of modernist examples that dot the city's skyline today.

The turn of the century has brought significant economic, social, cultural, political and physical changes to the city as previously described in Chapter 1. The combination of historic and traditional landscapes, properties, neighborhoods, gardens, modern and post-modern structures and the monumental edifices in pink sandstone constructed in the last decade have given Lucknow an eclectic cityscape. This assortment of the city's built fabric has continued to present challenges of development and heritage management. While the former is beyond the scope of this research, the following two sections briefly discuss how preservation and heritage management has taken place in Lucknow in the last one hundred and fifty years, when the first listing process of its kind was undertaken by the provincial government.

Figure 57: The Indian Toxicology Research Center.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 58: BIRD Campus designed by Joseph Allen Stein.
Source: Author, 2013.

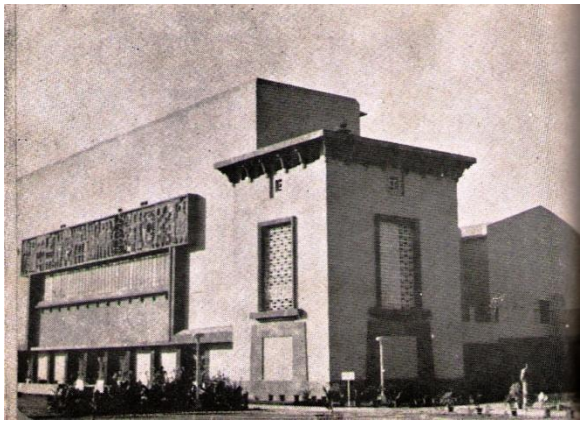

Figure 59: The locally well-known Ravindralaya building housing performance theatre and auditorium space.
Source: Government of Uttar Pradesh. 1980. "Lucknow : Summary of the City's Comprehensive Development". Lucknow (India).

Figure 60: The Bal Sanghralaya, or the Children's Museum was another modernist addition to the city.
Source: Government of Uttar Pradesh. 1980. "Lucknow : Summary of the City's Comprehensive Development". Lucknow (India).

3.3. A CENTURY AND A HALF OF PRESERVATION INITIATIVES

A majority of the heritage-related preservation and management activity in Lucknow began towards the latter half of the nineteenth century, primarily under Colonial rule. Until 1871, very little attention had been paid to "the preservation of buildings of

archaeological interest or architectural merit" in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, apart from the preservation efforts at Agra. Between 1872 and 1876 an annual expenditure between ₹20,000 and ₹30,000 was made by the provincial government primarily on the Agra Fort and Taj Mahal. In 1875, the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, Sir John Strachey reviewed "the necessity for systematic and comprehensive measures for the preservation of buildings and monuments...". He requested the Government of India in 1876 to allow for the creation of a special Archaeological Public Works Division headquartered at Agra. As far back as 1876, Agra and its monumental edifices enjoyed bulk of the administration attention and funding. The Lt.-Governor additionally felt that this special division negated the need for an officer especially in charge of the Archaeological Division (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886a). He felt that:

> There is no intention of discontinuing altogether the attention that has been hitherto paid to the preservation of ancient buildings. On the contrary, wherever buildings and remains of real historical or antiquarian value are discovered, care will be taken to prevent their dilapidation, and funds will be provided according to the urgency of the care and resources of the Local Government… (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886a).

In 1880, the Secretary of State approved the appointment of Curator of Ancient Monuments for a period of three years on the condition that each "Local Government" would prepare a conservation scheme for their province. This post was held by Major Henry Hardy Cole from January 1881 to April 1884. He also produced a report that enabled each local government to prepare "classified lists and a detailed report" based

on the descriptions in Table 5. These lists were also required by the Government of India to facilitate each local government to have the "means for the intelligent and judicious treatment of any questions that may arise in connection with the preservation of buildings of such importance". The cost of preserving the sites under government administration was to be borne by the Public Works Department. They were also instructed to encourage the public to maintain the buildings in their charge (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886a).

Table 5: Description of proposed lists of ancient monuments. Excerpt from the Proceedings of the Government of India, in the Home Department (Archaeology) under date: Calcutta, 28 November, 1883.
From: Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh. 1886. "General Administration Department File No.200". Uttar Pradesh State Archives: Lucknow (India).

List	Description
I	Those monuments which form their present condition and historical or archaeological value ought to be maintained in permanent good repair.
II	Those monuments which it is now only possible or desirable to save from further decay by such minor measures as the eradication of vegetation, the exclusion of water from walls and the like
III	Those monuments which from their advanced stage of decay or comparative unimportance it is impossible or unnecessary to preserve.
The monuments in classes I and II should be further subdivided thus:	
I(a) and II(a)	Monuments in the possession or charge of Government, or in the respect of which Government must undertake the cost of all measures of conservation.
I(b) and II(b)	Monuments in the possession or charge of private bodies or individuals.

It was also recommended by the government that the lists pass through three stages before they reached completion. The first stage involved the creation of an initial list of ancient remains or buildings that were thought to be of archaeological interest in each district and province. The list could be created by either district officials, officers of the Archaeological Department or any agency that the provincial government determined.

This list was assumed to be not wholly complete, and officers were encouraged to add to it as they conducted work, and to use it as a foundation for their detailed surveys. The lists then went through a second revision by the officers of the Archaeological Department, who also identified the objects “of sufficient archaeological interest to be worthy of repairs or conservation”. The third stage of the process involved a final selection by the local government of those buildings or sites from the list that they deemed to be repaired or conserved (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886a).

Between 1880 and 1886, several orders given by the Home Department (Archaeology) of the Government of India to create detailed surveys and inscriptions for the North-Western Provinces and Oudh Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886a). This resulted in a detailed list of ‘Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh’, categorized into five separate sub-lists dealing with historic sites in every district in the province as described in Table 5. Appendix A is derived from this list to compile information on inscribed structures in the district of Lucknow (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886a).

Between 1883 and 1885 the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, Lt.Col HW Hastings oversaw the progress of several projects, expenditure of which was sanctioned from the

Lucknow city *nazul*[29] fund for special projects. These included special repairs to Tehri Kothi, repairs to railings around the Residency, converting Malka Jahan's palace into a municipal hall, lighting the mall (Hazratganj), repairing roads in the Residency, special repairs to the mosque and imambara in Macchi Bhawan, repairs to Lal Baradari (Museum), re-roofing etc in out-offices in the Lawrence Terrace, new well in Kankar Kothi and an application was made to transfer grant for the well in Wingfield Park (Figure 61) (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886b).

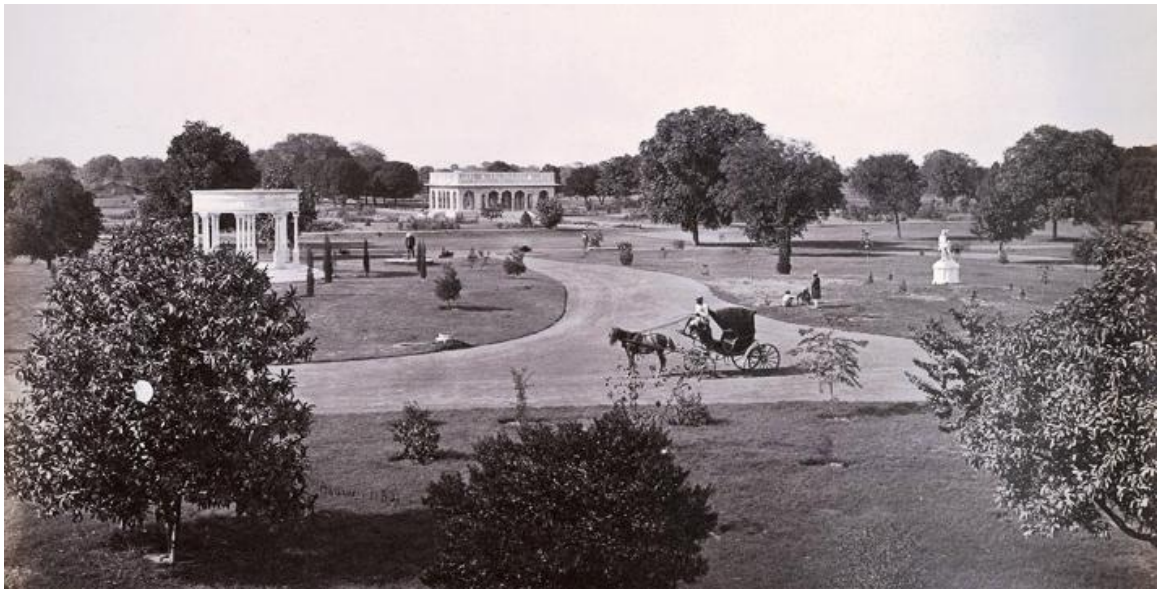

Figure 61: Samuel Bourne, *Wingfield Park,* photographic print, 1860.
From: The British Library,
http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/w/019pho000000394u00057000.html
(accessed September 02, 2013).

Over time Wingfield Park was bifurcated. Part of it became residential, and the rest became the Prince of Wales Zoological Park, housing the Uttar Pradesh State Museum and the zoo.

[29] The *Nazul* Land department was set up in the pre-independence era for controlling of revenue land and collecting taxes from city residents who were given plots on lease.

For the 1884-85 year, Government of India earmarked a sum of ₹50,000 out of which the North-Western Provinces and Oudh only received ₹5000. This amount was distributed by the General Department of the NWP and Oudh government amongst five major cities: Allahabad (₹900), Agra (₹2200), Sitapur (₹100), Benaras (₹500), Jhansi (₹1000) and Fyzabad[30] (₹300). During this period none of the sites identified at Lucknow received official attention (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886a).

During 1885, changes were also brought about to make the Surveyors of the ASI, assistants to the local government, and not to a departmental head within the ASI. This was done to ensure that the Surveyors felt that they worked for a particular province and a particular local government rather than a department or a few European officers. In his letter to the Secretary to the Government of India dated October 14 1885, JB Keith[31] reiterated the importance of developing a "native" sympathy for survey work, something that had been missing until then. He also stressed the importance of not having a 'uniform system of work' in a country as diverse as India (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886a).

In 1887, the Secretary to Government of India, asked the Director General of the ASI to update all the lists begun in 1885 and to submit their revised summary. Between 1886 and 1887, the Assistant Archaeological Surveyor of the North-Western Provinces and

[30] Fyzabad is today known as Faizabad.
[31] In 1885 JB Keith took charge of the North Western Provinces and Rajputana provinces under the Archaeological Survey of India.

Oudh Circle conducted surveys on the architecture, antiquities and history of several areas in the province. Lucknow, however, was not included.

In 1883, Fort *Macchi Bhawan* (Figure 32 and Figure 33) was evacuated by the Military Department and its defenses were demolished. On July 2, several buildings in the compound were transferred to the *Nazul* Department and some civil and religious buildings were demolished. The Imambara, mosque and Rumi Gate within the Machhi Bhawan compound were transferred to the Husainabad Trust, while others were administered by the Public Works Department. The mosque on Lakshman Tila (Figure 20) was made over to the *Shaikh* descendents of the founder. The Public Works Department was instructed by the provincial government to demolish the Fort within four months. Today this area houses the King George's Medical University.

On August 6, 1888 more buildings in the old Macchi Bhawan Fort area were made over to the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow on the orders of the Commissioner. The management of these buildings transferred from the Public Works Department to the Local *Nazul* Department. The transferred buildings included: Staff Sergeant's bungalow, the orderly room, the canteen and the Sergeants' mess-room and dining hall (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1888a). This large-scale destruction effectively destroyed the integrity of the Husainabad historic landscape and created the isolated historic structures described in Chapter 4.

In May 1888, the Commissioner of Lucknow requested the government of NWP and Oudh to sanction ₹2500 for the repairs of Chattar Manzil (Figure 62 and Figure 63), a *nazul* building that was at that time occupied by the United Service Club of Lucknow (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1888b).

Figure 62: John Burke, *Chutter Manzil, Lucknow*. Photographic print, 1860.
Source: The British Library, http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/c/019pho0000938s3u00017000.htmll (accessed September 30, 2013).

Figure 63: Chattar Manzil today houses the Central Drug Research Institute (CDRI).
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

By 1890, the Government of India asked the provincial government to reduce the area their department worked on at any given time, and to transfer the executive control of the officers of the department from an Imperial Director to the Government of the Province in which they may be working. The duties of the archaeological staff were described as being:

> (1) to survey the ancient remains in each province in more or less detail according to their archaeological value, (2) to advise local authorities what buildings are, from their architectural beauty or historical associations, worthy of permanent conservation, and as to the best means of preserving or restoring them….

These duties, however, depended on the number of archaeological objects in each province, which in turn depended on the working programme followed by the survey staff and the conservation officers (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886a).

In 1888 and again in 1890, a "List of Christian Tombs of Historical and other interest in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh" was compiled and included around thirty-five tombs and cemeteries within the district of Lucknow. Meanwhile, in 1895 the Public Works Department of the Government of India also issued a circular with rules "(1) for the care and use of Government cemeteries throughout India except in the Presidency Town of the Diocese of Calcutta; (2) for the levy and expenditure of fees on graves and monuments in cemeteries and churches throughout India; (3) for the levy of other ecclesiastical fees; and (4) for regulating grants for the building of churches, compensation for accommodation for soldiers in chapels neither belonging to nor rented by Government and for the supply of church furniture…" (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886b).

By June 29, 1900 a need was felt for better dialogue between the provincial governments and the Archaeological Survey of India. By this time, Government of India had reorganized the Archaeological Survey Department and established five circles headed by an Archaeological Surveyor each: (1) Bombay (including Sind) and Berar, (2) Madras and Coorg, (3) Punjab, Baluchistan and Ajmer, (4) The North-Western Provinces and Central Provinces and (5) Bengal and Assam. The various states expressed a

readiness to administer, maintain and preserve “objects of historical and archaeological interest”. However, the Under Secretary to the Government of India felt that certain instances of neglect or ruin would have been avoided had the States been able to get the advice and assistance of an archaeological expert. Therefore, the Under Secretary recommended to the Lt-Governor of India that the Archaeological Surveyors of each Circle be authorized to “advise and assist the Durbars of the Native States with which their respective circles are most closely connected by geographical position”. Their duties in this capacity would involve: (1) No administrative control in the Native State territory; (2) Consultation by the State through a Political Officer; (3) Tour the Native States with the consent of the concerned Durbars to help prepare or revise the list of sites of archaeological interest. Additionally, the salaries and expenditures of the Archaeological Surveyors were not the responsibility of the provinces. By June 4, 1901 this scheme was approved by the various Local Governments.

In 1901, another list of buildings worthy of preservation and commemoration was prepared for each district in North-Western Provinces and Oudh. The list for Lucknow (Appendix C) included a brief note describing the building and its historical significance (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1901). In 1934, the Public Works Department made a list of the monuments in the United Provinces that had not been accepted by the Government of India as ‘centrally protected monuments’. This list included 24 monuments from Lucknow out of a total of 185 from across the state (Government of United Provinces 1934). Today, the Lucknow Circle of the

Archaeological Survey of India claims to have 59 centrally protected 'monuments' in Lucknow out of a total of 359 from across the state (Government of India 2011) . The UP State Directorate of Archaeology, however, does not currently maintain such a publicly-available list, further necessitating a local heritage management system for Lucknow.

3.4. A CENTURY AND A HALF OF LOCAL GOVERNANCE AND POLICY

Lucknow has had an interesting administrative development due to its ever-changing role as an administrative and political center over several centuries and regimes. The first signs of local governance were seen towards the mid-nineteenth century as the town began to urbanize. Various administrative departments came into being, especially as the British took control of the Northwestern Provinces of Oudh (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1883). The first of these was a Local Committee set up by the then Deputy Collector of Lucknow, G. Campbell, Sq. in 1860. The Committee met for the first time at Chattar Manzil. By a special order of the Commissioner of Lucknow, this Committee was converted into a Municipal Committee, also chaired by Campbell. In 1884, this was transformed into Lucknow's first Municipal Board, headed by the-then Deputy Commissioner, Warren Hastings (Lucknow Nagar Nigam 2012).

By 1907, the city administration felt a dire need for 'improving' the city's infrastructural situation, especially in the core areas. Consequently, in 1919 the Lucknow Improvement Trust was created (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1952, 5). It was the forerunner to the current Lucknow Development Authority, created in response to a need for carrying out

improvement works such as widening narrow roads and opening up congested settlement areas. The Improvement Trust was also charged with the task of planning for the growth of the town in a controlled manner. The duties of the Lucknow Improvement Trust, previously under the Municipal Board, came under the purview of the Lucknow Development Authority (LDA) in 1974 under the Uttar Pradesh Urban Planning & Development Act of 1973. Today, the planning and development of the city is shared by the Lucknow Development Authority and the Town & Country Planning Office (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1883).

The Municipal Board of Lucknow was chaired by Deputy Commissioners of Lucknow until 1916. A chairman was publicly elected for the first time when the UP Municipalities Act was passed in 1916. In 1946, public election of Chairman of the Board was stopped and replaced with government-appointed chairmen. The current Lucknow Municipal Corporation (LMC) came into being in 1960, pursuant to the 1959 Amendment to the UP Municipal Act. Today, the LMC's principal activities are managing water supply, sanitation, and solid-waste management among others.

By 1947, the Public Works Department created a Town Planning Section. A year later, a separate Central Planning Office was created under American planner Albert Mayer. Its Town Planning Section was headed by Mayer's colleague, R.D. Trudgett. By 1949, the Town Planning Office separated from the Central Planning Office and was put under the Municipal Department's administration. It was only in 1950 that it became an independent department headed by a Town and Village Planner (Government of Uttar

Pradesh 1952, 5). Today, the department is headed by the Chief Town and Country Planner.

While the city was developing its administrative setup, the state also implemented The UP Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Preservation Act of 1956, which led to the creation of the State-level UP State Directorate of Archaeology, entrusting them with the task of exploring and excavating archaeological sites, preservation of sites in the state protected under the Act and disseminating information (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1956). This marked the beginning of the separation of heritage and conservation related matters from the local government departments, including the LDA, the LMC and the Town and Country Planning Office. Preservation and conservation of built heritage designated by federal or state agencies come solely under their respective purviews.

The three case studies of Husainabad, Kaiserbagh and Hazratganj selected for this study present interesting examples of the challenges that arise out of not only these imbalances and developmental vacuums, but also how different contested spaces are created in an historic urban setting. Each case study represents varying degrees of regulation and protection and also has very distinct physical, temporal, architectural, functional and cognitive characteristics that set each apart and contribute to their management.

IN CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted the physical and administrative development of Lucknow. The city has undergone tremendous urban transformations-- usually with negative impact brought on by state-sanctioned and private development, encroachments and tourism related activities. The core of the city, comprising countless historic resources and cultural landscapes, has had a patchwork of preservation and development initiatives. Apart from the physical development, there has also been an uneven focus by the government on developing core historic areas.

The most recent contemporary imbalance has been the lack of local government attention to the historic sites leading to rampant encroachments and stealthy demolitions on one hand (Mathur 2010e), and disproportionate amounts of government attention and spending on creating new urban enclaves of memorials, monuments and parks with direct political backing on the other (A. Sinha 2010). While no official numbers are available, an estimated 7000 crore rupees (approx. 1.3 billion USD) of the tax payer's money has already been expended in the execution of such monumental works. The 51.86 crore rupees (approx 9.5million USD) spent by the Archaeological Survey of India between 2009-12 on maintenance and repair of the historic structures under its charge in the Lucknow Circle begins to put in perspective the severe imbalances in urban spending on politically motivated "beautification projects" versus preservation and maintenance of existing historic building stock that has occurred in recent years.

To underline the dichotomy further, the new edifices in stone were not only proposed to be protected as “heritage” under the aegis of a new Bill (*Times* News Network 2011c) but also received a specially constituted security force to physically protect the sites (Express News Service 2010). This kind of administrative and fiscal imbalance has created distinct vacuums of development and underdevelopment within the urban landscape of Lucknow and negatively impacted the way in which urban local bodies and heritage agencies administer and manage historic sites and landscapes. The next three chapters, dealing with three very different historic landscapes in the city, shed considerable light on these kinds of imbalances.

CHAPTER 4: MANAGEMENT OF A HERITAGE COMMODITY: HUSAINABAD

4.1. INTRODUCTION

The Husainabad[32] area is one of the most popular historic landscapes in Lucknow, especially amongst local, domestic and foreign tourists (Figure 108). The fact that in 2010-2011 fiscal year this area generated over 1.68 crore rupees from ticket sales alone, gives an indication of its popularity (Husainabad Allied Trust 2012). Husainabad is also located deep within the historic core of the city, composed of and surrounded by a mix of old and new structures of varying scales, and interwoven by streets both broad and narrow. It also has the distinction of being located close to the banks of the river Gomti, adjacent to the now-demolished Macchi Bhawan[33] palace complex (Figure 64).

Unlike Hazratganj and Kaiserbagh, however, Husainabad today no longer enjoys the physical, spatial and historical integrity that it once had. Instead, the monumental edifices that have given this area its fame rise majestically amidst an increasingly expanding urban landscape of cacophonous modern construction (Figure 65). This intricate spatial relationship between the monumental structures and newer contemporary constructions forms just one element of the kinds of management challenges seen at Husainabad; others stem from competing claims of ownership, administration, jurisdiction and enforcement, and contradictory legislation.

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[32] Husainabad is also referred to as 'Hussainabad' in various books and other published material.
[33] Today this area is the King George's Medical University (formerly College, Figure 65).

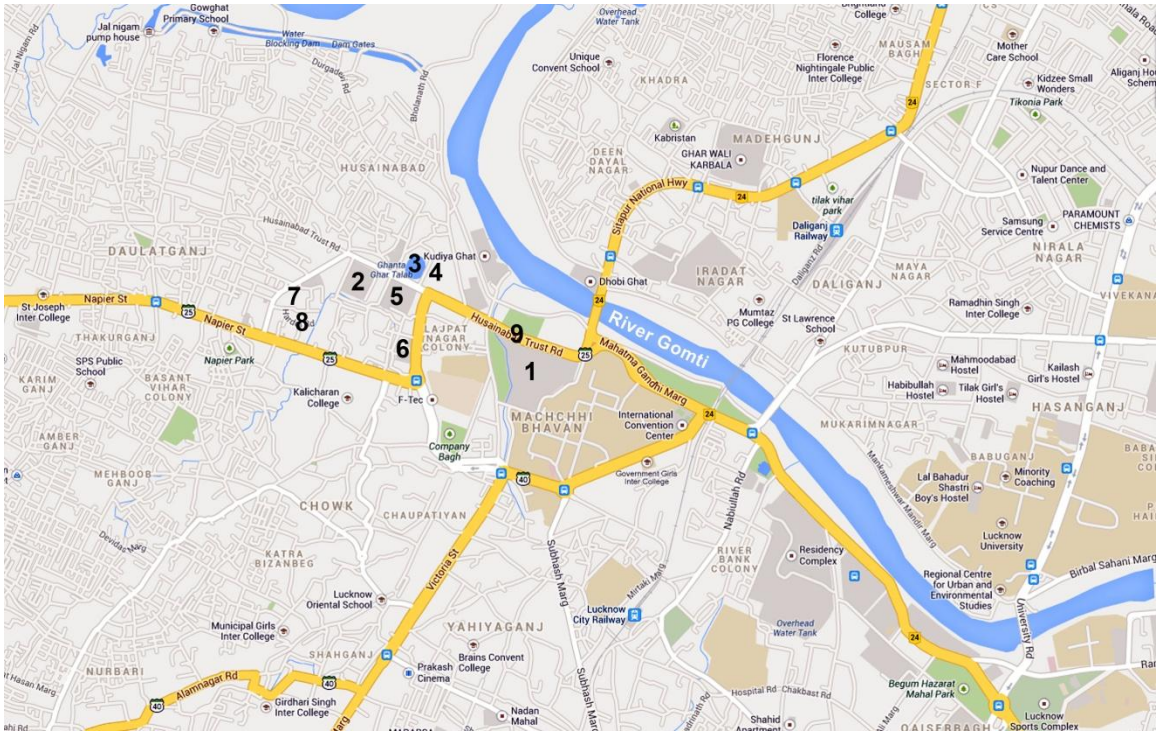

Figure 64: Map of Husainabad area indicating the various historic resources and buildings.
1: Asafi Imambara complex; 2: Husainabad Imambara complex; 3: Picture Gallery; 4: Clock Tower; 5: Rais Manzil; 6: Kala Imambara; 7: Jami Masjid; 8: Imambara Malka Jahan; 9: Rumi Gate.
Source: Google Maps, accessed on July 26, 2013.


Figure 65: View of development immediately behind Asafi Imambara. Most of the larger institutional buildings seen in the background belong to the King George's Medical University.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

This chapter first introduces Husainabad through a brief historical narrative of its development to illustrate its importance in the city of Lucknow and to the Shia[34] community. The dual role of architectural and historical significance, versus religious significance and use is significant in the challenges that arise from administering the area. The third section briefly discusses the precinct as a heritage zone as identified in the Lucknow Master Plan for 2021. The precinct's designation as a heritage zone has resulted in several dialogues amongst the city agencies to propose development and upgrades in the area. These discussions, however, have had little implementation at site.

The fourth section in the chapter introduces issues of administration, ownership, jurisdiction and legislation at Husainabad through the three main stakeholders (The Husainabad Trust, The ASI and The Shia *Waqf* Board), first, through a historic lens and then describes their contemporary role in determining the fate of properties in Husainabad. They are each, in different ways, contributors to the challenges of heritage management seen at Husainabad. These challenges are articulated in the last section.

[34] Shia is a sect of Islam. Demographically, however, the Sunni sect significantly outnumbers the Shias in Lucknow.

4.2. HUSAINABAD: A BRIEF HISTORY

The Husainabad historic precinct comprises several buildings "devoted to the rituals and cult of Imam Husain"[35] (Alkazi Foundation for the Arts 2006, 4). Most buildings in the area are several centuries old, and comparable to the more well-known Mughal architecture found in the rest of Northern India. Although the buildings are constructed predominantly in brick with elaborate stucco[36] work, they remain as grand and monumental as the Islamic stone edifices found in other parts of the country. The large number of buildings built in honor of the Imam (both public and private) helped make Lucknow a center for the Shia community, especially in northern India (Alkazi Foundation for the Arts 2006, 4). The historic precinct of Husainabad primarily consists of the Asafi Imambara, Husainabad Imambara, Asafi Mosque, Jama Masjid, Satkhanda, Naubatkhana, Picture Gallery and Tank, Husainabad Clock Tower and the Rumi Gate among others (Figure 64).

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[35] Imam Husain was the son of Ali and the grandson of Prophet Muhammad. A champion of the Shia cause, he was ambushed and killed in AD 680 by the forces of the Umayyad caliph Yazid, the leader of Sunni Muslims. He was killed on the tenth day (Ashura) of Muharram, the first month of the Islamic calendar. Till today members of the Shia community mourn his death and observe fasts (Llewellyn-Jones 2006, 101).

[36] The bricks used predominantly during this period were called *lakhori* or *lakhauri,* measuring ¾ x $3^{7/8}$ x $5^{7/8}$ inches. Sandstone and marble, the materials most often used for Mughal buildings were not easily available in this region during the Nawabi period. The stucco used was "made from the calcareous deposits of ancient lake beds" (Llewellyn-Jones 2006, 109).

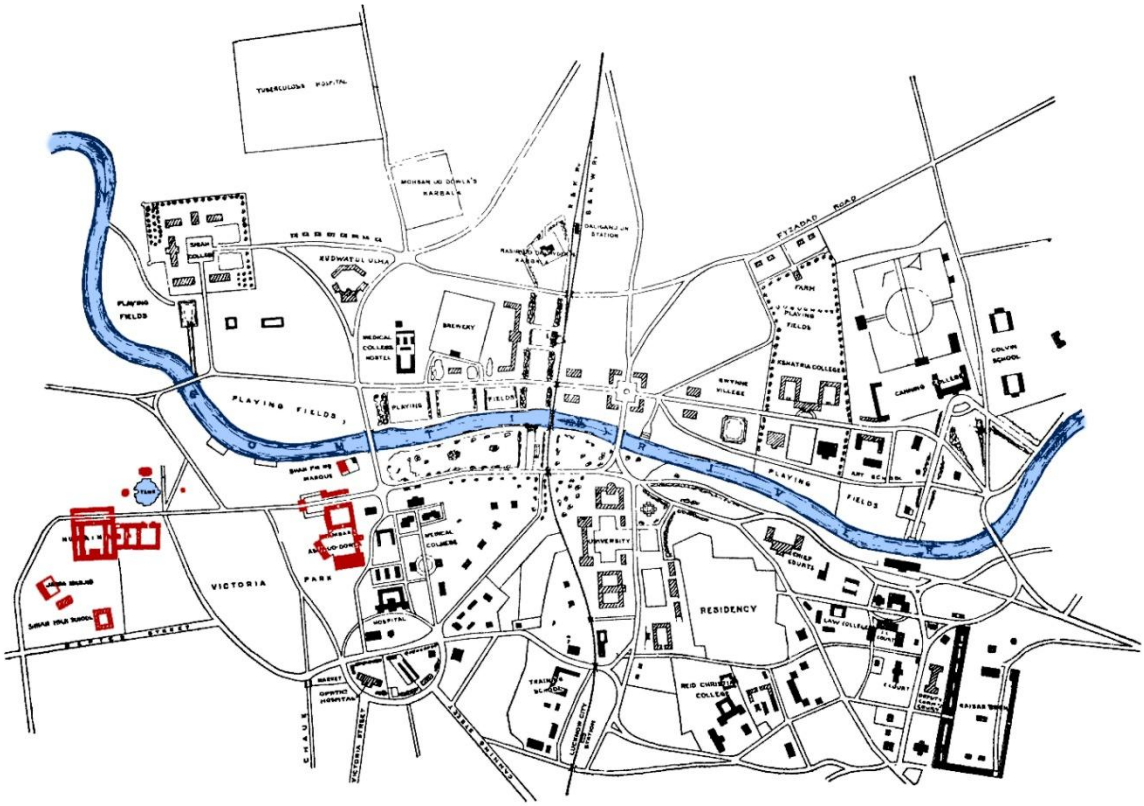

Figure 66: A figure ground of central Lucknow in 1919 with the Husainabad buildings in red
Adapted from S Abbas Husain Rizvi, *Educational Area,* 1919.
From: Municipal Department File 500E, *Lucknow Improvement Schemes* (Lucknow: UP State Archives, 2012) Plate V.

The most well-known structure in the area is the Asafi Imambara[37] (Figure 69), built by Nawab Asaf-ud-daula between 1784 and 1791 at a cost of one crore[38] rupees as a famine-relief measure to provide employment to the city's impoverished populace (Mookherji 1883, 239; Praveen 2008, 176; Hay 1939, 113). It was designed by Kifayatullah and his son Mohebullah who were believed to have been Persian (Llewellyn-Jones 2006, 107; Mookherji 1883, 240). Measuring 303 feet long, 160 feet

[37] This is also known as Bara (big) Imambara.
[38] 1 crore = 1,00,00,000 or 10 million; 1 crore roughly converts to $187,231 by current conversion.

wide and 63 feet high, the Imambara also functions as a mausoleum for Nawab Asaf-ud-daula's remains (Mookherji 1883, 240; Hay 1939, 114; Stuart 1898, 12).

The Nawab, a prolific builder in his time, sited the Imambara such that it was adjacent to his grand palace, Macchi Bhawan[39]. The curious layout of the complex (Figure 69) was necessitated by Asaf-ud-daula's insistence on placing it adjacent to his palace, and by the Islamic law of aligning tombs and mosques in a direction facing the Mecca. This is the reason why the Nawab's tomb as well as the Asafi Mosque are aligned at an angle to the rest of the rectangular complex (Figure 68) (Llewellyn-Jones 2006, 110). The mosque, a prominent feature of the area's skyline, has three domes and minarets over one hundred and fifty feet high (Mookherji 1883, 239; Hay 1939, 115). The Imambara is divided into nine chambers. The central one is the largest, measuring 163 feet by 53 feet.

This hall is today a major tourist attraction, being one of the largest vaulted halls in the world, especially given its date of construction: 1791 (Llewellyn-Jones 2006, 110; Mookherji 1883, 222). The large hall is flanked by two smaller ones, which culminate in a large dome each. These domes, however, are only visible from within the structure. The Imambara continues to be used not only for the Islamic ritual of *majlis*, but also for

[39] *Macchi Bhawan* is roughly translated as Fish Palace, taking its name from the fish emblem used by the Nawabs for Oudh. Today the site of Macchi Bhawan house the King George's Medical University (formerly College). It was demolished in the late nineteenth century (Llewellyn-Jones 2006, 108).

storing and publicly displaying *taziyas*[40] and *zarihs*[41]. In 1824 the Imambara was well known for its "tabernacle of chandeliers" from which hung "immense lustres of silver and gold, prismatic crystals and colored glass and any that were too heavy to be hung rose in radiant piles from the floor" (Hay 1939, 115). Apart from the mosque and the halls within the Imambara, the complex also contains the Shahi *Baoli,* or the Royal Step-Well. The other major attraction of this structure is a series of labyrinths (*Bhool Bhulaiya*) that were originally built to support the massive roof of the structure (Llewellyn-Jones 2006, 111). Today they play host to scores of tourists and earn the Imambara's custodians, the Husainabad and Allied Trust a sizeable sum in tourism revenue.

Figure 67: Panoramic view of the Asafi Imambara complex taken from the parapet of the Asafi Imambara; Asafi Mosque on the left, inner gateway in the center and entrance to Shahi *Baoli* on the right, 2013.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

[40] The practice of *taziyas* has its roots in Iranian and Persian culture within their Shia communities which directly influenced the practice in India (Llewellyn-Jones 2006, 103). *Taziyas*, especially as used in the Indian subcontinent are miniature versions of the Karbala made in paper and bamboo, displayed and carried out in processions during Muharram as homage to Imam Husain. They are then displayed at the Imambara and eventually buried at the *karbalas* (Shia cemeteries) (Llewellyn-Jones 2006, 104).
[41] *Zarih* refers to the outer sarcophagus enclosure of a shrine. Here, the *zarih* of the holy shrine of Imam Husain at Karbala in Iraq is often replicated in miniature during Muharram.

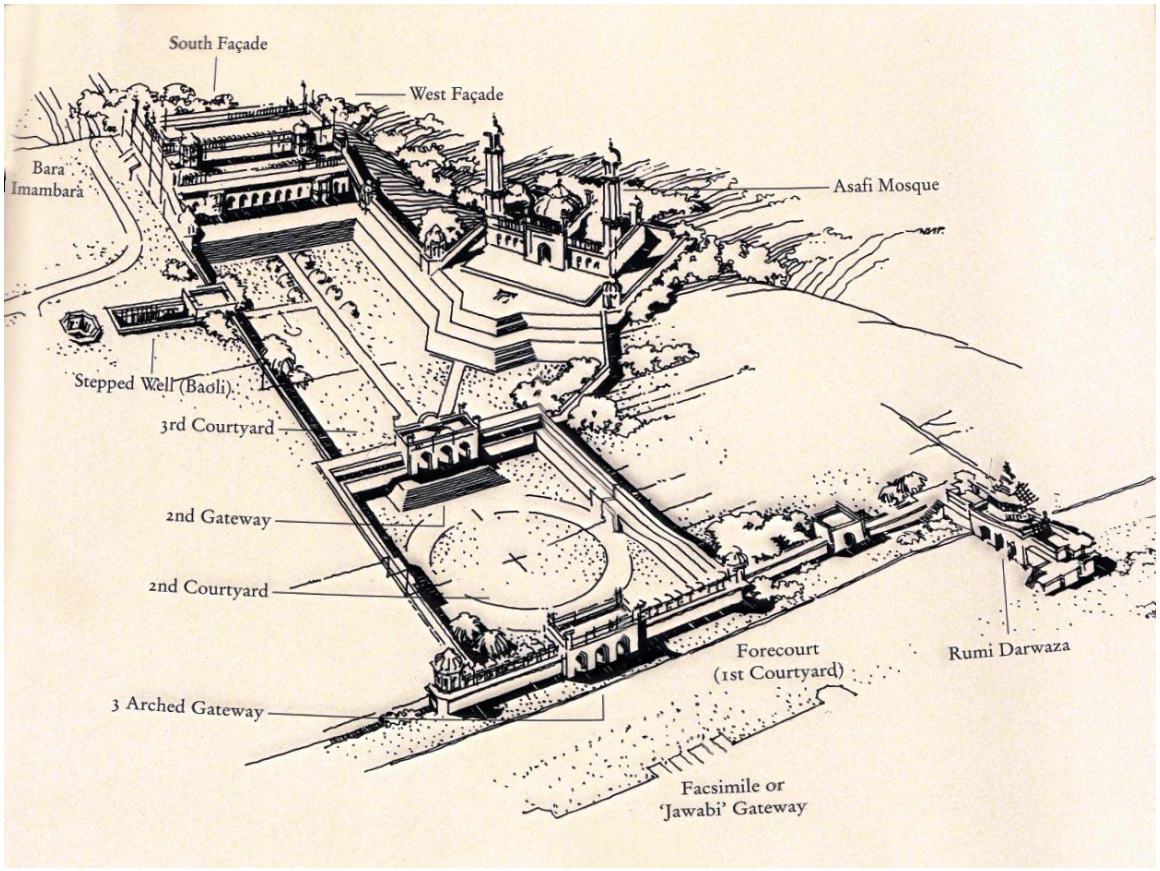

Figure 68: W Sypniewski, *Bird's eye view of the Asafi Mosque and Bara Imambara complex*, 2001. From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 51.

Figure 69: View of the Asafi Imambara from the innermost courtyard, 2013.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

The Rumi Darwaza (Rumi Gate, Figure 70 to Figure 73), located immediately outside the entrance gates to the Asafi Imambara is “a semi-circular vault of great height”, with three arched openings (Mookherji 1883, 240). It was built at the same time as the Asafi Imambara, although a historian notes its completion year as 1786 (Praveen 2008, 46). Many believe that Rumi Darwaza got its name from the Constantinople gateway it copied. The name, however, is derived from that fact that it faced the direction of the Turkish Empire, and Turkey was called “Roum” by the ‘native’ Indians (Mookherji 1883, 240). Historians have also noted the discovery of distinct Hindu elements under the gate during excavations for laying new drainage lines. Keeping in mind the gate’s structural stability, however, the elements were not excavated. It is therefore unclear what relationship the gate or its site had to previous Hindu occupation of the area (Praveen 2008, 47).

Figure 70: Unknown photographer, *Rumi Darwaza*, albumin print, late 1860s.
From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 53.

Figure 71: Secondary façade of Rumi Darwaza from the forecourt of Asafi Imambara.
Source: Author, 2011.

Figure 72: Unknown photographer, *Rumi Darwaza*, albumin print, 1890s.
From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 52.

Figure 73: Primary façade of Rumi Darwaza facing Husainabad Imambara complex.
Source: Author, 2011.

The other well-known structure in the area is the Husainabad Imambara[42] (Figure 74 and Figure 75), built during the reign of Muhammad Ali Shah, several decades after the Asafi Imambara. Similar to its larger relative, the Husainabad Imambara is housed within a complex of buildings, including an elegant gateway (Figure 75). The inner court has a water channel in the form of a masonry tank which has an ornamental iron bridge across it (Mookherji 1883, 241). The water tank is flanked by two small nearly identical structures on each side. One is a small replica of the Taj Mahal and is a tomb and the other is a small mosque (Figure 74) (Mookherji 1883, 241). This symmetrical complex exemplifies the key features of Islamic architecture, especially those seen in the Mughal-era buildings elsewhere in India (Alkazi Foundation for the Arts 2006, 6).

[42] This is also called Chhota (small) Imambara colloquially.

The main Imambara building, though smaller in size and scale to the Asafi Imambara, is nevertheless remarkable for its stucco work and grand dome (Mookherji 1883, 222). The combination of minarets and domed cupolas led a Russian prince to compare it to the Kremlin (Hay 1939, 128). Similar to the larger Imambara, it houses several *taziyas* that are more elaborately made in silver, sandalwood and ivory. The central hall has several antique chandeliers and mirrors in gilded frames, in addition to the tombs of the Nawab and his mother enclosed in silver grilles (Mookherji 1883, 241; Praveen 2008, 183).

Figure 74: View of the Husainabad Imambara complex with the main structure in the center.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

Figure 75: Panoramic view of the gateway to the Husainabad complex (center) and the two side gateways that guard the entrance to the larger complex.
Source: Author, 2013.

North-east of the Husainabad Imambara lies the Baradari[43] of Asaf-ud-daula (Mookherji 1883, 241). Today, it is more popularly known as the Picture Gallery (Figure 77). Both the baradari and the large octagonal tank in front of it were built by Muhammad Ali Shah in 1840 (Praveen 2008, 35). Fed by the River Gomti, the tank has *ghat*-like steps along its periphery and at the height of its use also had two *hamamkhanas* (bathing houses, Figure 78, Figure 79) (Praveen 2008, 35). Sometime after 1858, the British added the upper floor to the baradari to establish the picture gallery for which the structure is known today. Offices for the Department of Wasika and Husainabad Trust were also established on this floor and continue to function there today.

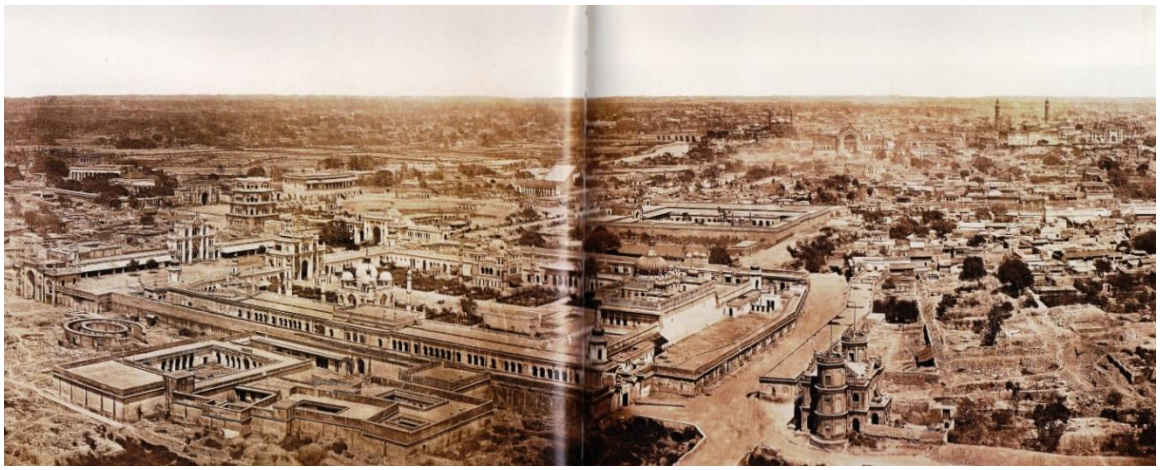

Figure 76: Felice Beato, *Two-part panorama of the Husainabad Imambara, the Daulat Khana to the left, the Rumi Darwaza and Bara Imambara to the right*, albumin print, 1858.
From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 71.

[43] A baradari literally translates to twelve doors or openings. Therefore a pavilion having twelve doors or arched openings is known as a baradari, or *baradwari* (Mookherji 1883, 223). "Dwar" in Hindi denotes a door, while "dar" in Urdu denotes entrance.

Figure 77: Panoramic view of the Picture Gallery (right) and water tank (center). Satkhanda can be seen in the background (center).
Source: Author, 2013.

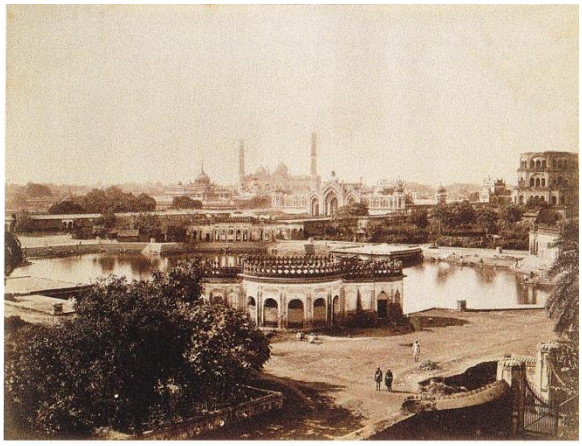

Figure 78: John Edward Sache, *The Husainabad talao and Bazaar Gateway, with Sat Khande on the right and Jama Masjid in the distance*, photographer's ref.191, albumin print, c.1867, 207x270mm.
From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 85.

Figure 79: G.W.Lawrie & Co., View across the talao towards the Husainabad Bazaar Gateway, with the Jama Masjid beyond, gelatin silver print, 1890s, 206x271mm.
From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 86.

In close proximity to the baradari and adjacent to the tank is the Husainabad Ghantaghar (Clock Tower, Figure 80), built by the British government in 1882 (Praveen 2008, 35). Over 1.17 lakh rupees were spent on its construction, funded by the Husainabad Trust and overseen by its trustee Lt.Col Norman T Horsford. The 221 ft high, 20 sq.ft exposed brick tower was designed by R. Bayne while its clock (made with

gunmetal) was assembled by J.W. Benson (Praveen 2008, 212). This iconic tower is perhaps Lucknow's only example of the Indo Saracenic style of architecture found in abundance in cities like Calcutta (Kolkata), Madras (Chennai) and Bombay (Mumbai). On the other side of the tank is the unfinished ambitious project began by Mohammad Ali Shah in mid-1800s: the Satkhanda[44] (Figure 81). The structure was based loosely on the Qutb Minar in New Delhi and was intended to rise up seven stories to allow the king to go up to the highest floor and survey all the other construction projects taking place in the area (Hay 1939, 132). It, however, was never completed, and recently the officers of the Husainabad Trust commissioned plans for its reconstruction, which are discussed in detail in the next section.

Figure 80: Husainabad Clock Tower.
Source: Author, 2013.

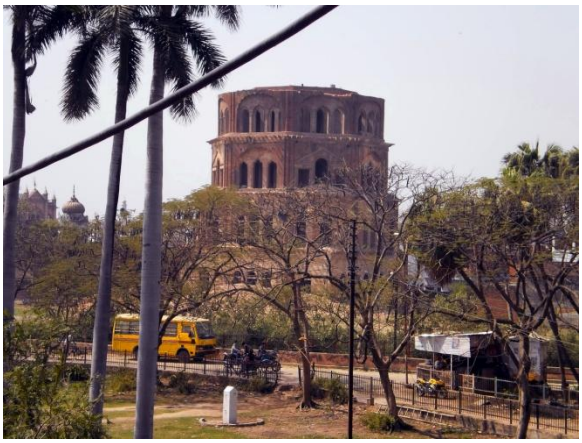

Figure 81: View of the incomplete Satkhanda from the front porch of Picture Gallery.
Source: Author, 2012.

[44] "Saat" means seven and "khand" means parts or storeys in Hindi.

The Jama Masjid (Figure 82 and Figure 83) is the other, larger mosque located in this area. It is similar in shape and architectural design to the Asafi Mosque, though surpassing it in size and scale. Many historians have called this the *'Juma Masjid'*; 'juma' meaning Friday and 'masjid' denoting mosque. This mosque serves as a major destination for Friday prayer services. It is also known as the Masjid Malka Jahan, begun by Mohammad Ali Shah in 1840 but finished by his second wife Malka Jahan upon his death (Praveen 2008, 171; Hay 1939, 132). In 1939, the remains of a large brick building to one side of the mosque, as well as the locally well-known Pili Kothi (Yellow House) which played a small part in the 1857 war are also seen near the mosque (Hay 1939, 133).

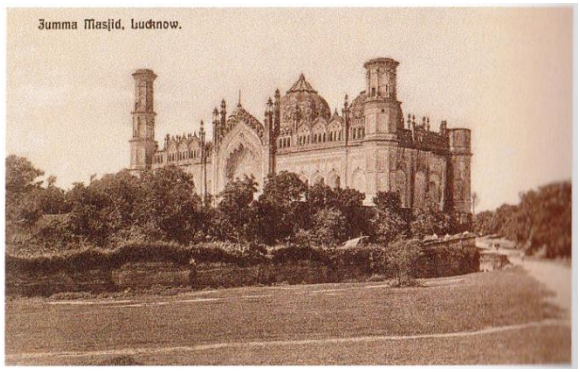

Figure 82: Unknown photographer, *Jama Masjid*, postcard, c.1912-13, 88x138mm. From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 87.

Figure 83: View of Jama Masjid. Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

Apart from the plethora of monumental edifices, Mohammad Ali Shah also built the road connecting Dilkusha Palace to Husainabad. However, his most significant contribution for the purpose of this research came in the form of an endowed trust that he created for safeguarding not only the buildings and their religious practices but also

to ensure the welfare of the members of his Shia community, the Husainabad Trust, which is discussed in the section after next.

4.3. HUSAINABAD TODAY: THE HUSAINABAD HERITAGE ZONE

The Husainabad precinct is a bustling tourist destination in the city today. It attracts a high percentage of the domestic and international tourists that visit the city. While official numbers were unavailable, a survey of people in Lucknow, conducted in 2012 showed that out of 319 respondents, almost 100% had visited the Asafi Imambara, the prime tourist attraction in Husainabad (Figure 84). Over the years, the local government has also acknowledged Husainabad's architectural, historical and tourism potential, and its implications on development. The Lucknow Master Plans (LMP) for 2001 and 2021 respectively, formulated by the Lucknow Development Authority and the Town and Country Planning Office, identified and designated this area as the 'Husainabad Heritage Zone' (Figure 85).

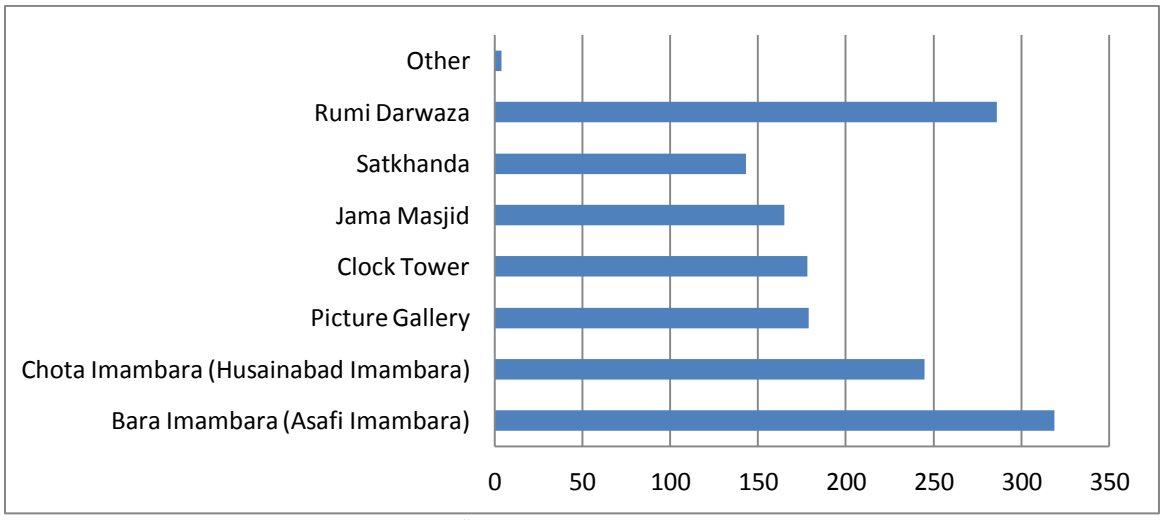

Figure 84: Response to survey question "Which sites have you visited in Husainabad"?
Source: Author, 2012.

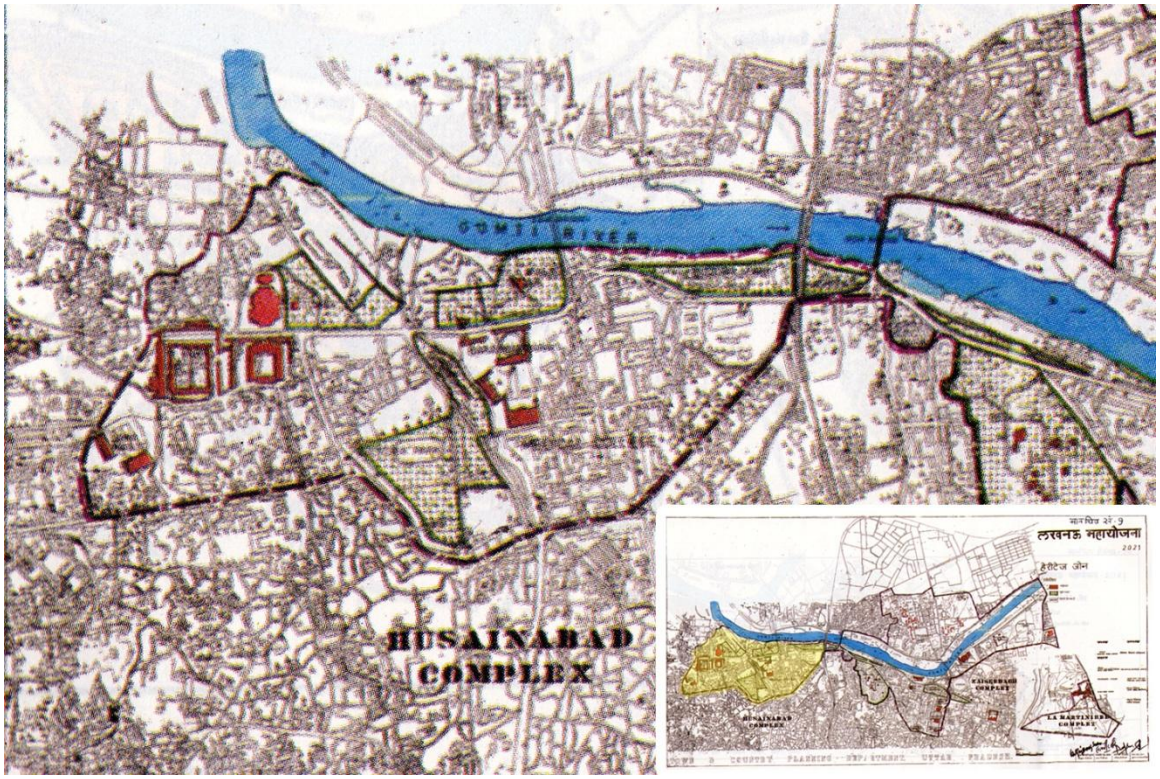

Figure 85: Part of the Heritage Zone Plan (inset) highlighting the Husainabad Heritage Zone as identified in the Lucknow Master Plan 2021. The various historic structures previously identified in Figure 64 and Figure 66 are also part of the Heritage Zone, highlighted in solid red.
Source: The Lucknow Master Plan, 2021.

The 'heritage' guidelines in the Master Plan for 2021 are currently followed by the various city agencies. These are, however, a mere fraction in comparison to the other, more detailed regulations in rest of the document. Additionally, apart from the map delineating a rough boundary of the area as shown in Figure 85, there is no mention of the specific properties within the Zone. The LMP's failure to list the properties that are included within the Heritage Zone has over the years caused problems in enforcing the regulations that are imposed by the Master Plan (Table 6). These irregularities and lapses in the Master Plan can be attributed to the absence of 'heritage'-related staff and

officers in both agencies, and also the lack of a local heritage management mechanism that can ensure this enforcement.

Table 6: Analysis of federal, state and local implications of legislation and regulation impacting Husainabad.
Source: Author, 2013.

	Federal	**State**	**Local**	**Local**
Legislation	*The Waqf Act of 1995*	*UP Muslim Waqf Act of 1960*	*Husainabad Endowment Act of 1838*	*Husainabad Act XV of 1878*
	Removed Husainabad Trust's autonomy and brought it under Shia *Waqf* Board	Initially planned to bring Husainabad under Shia *Waqf* Board but eventually the proposal was dropped	Complete autonomy to Trustees who could only be members and heirs of the royal family	Brought accountability and government's overseer role into the Trust with power to remove a Trustee in an instance of misuse of power or funds.
Regulation	*The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Amendment and Validation) Act, 2010*	*The UP Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Preservation Act, 1956*	*Lucknow Master Plan (Heritage Zones)** *These do not apply to the structures designated by ASI.	*Lucknow Master Plan (other historic areas not within Heritage Zones)*
	Permission needed for any construction/ mining activity	Permission needed for any construction/ mining activity	No construction within **50m** of historic structure	No construction within **15m** of historic structure
	No construction/ mining activity within **100m** of protected structure: **Prohibited Area**	No specific guidelines for state-protected structures; same guidelines as federal agency	Single-story construction within **50-150m** of historic structure up to a maximum height of 3.8m.	Only single-story construction within **15-50m** of historic structure
	Controlled construction/mining activity within **200m** of protected structure: **Regulated Area**	Main focus of this department has been on archaeology and excavations	Double-story construction within **50-150m** of historic structure up to a maximum height of 7.6m.	Double-story construction (max 7.6m) within **50-100m** of historic structure

Additionally, almost all of the historic resources identified in Figure 85 (in red) are also 'National Monuments' designated by the ASI. Chapter 3 outlined the various efforts by the federal and provincial governments in designating, preserving and policing the various structures within the contemporary Heritage Zone. This trend continues today through the Archaeological Survey of India's designation and preservation efforts at the Asafi Imambara, Husainabad Imambara, Asafi Mosque, Jama Masjid, and Picture Gallery, despite ownership lying with the Husainabad and Allied Trust. Other structures such as the various gates, the Satkhanda and Clock Tower and assorted residential buildings of historic value in Husainabad are administered and maintained by the Husainabad and Allied Trust. Usually the ASI has no say in the administration and maintenance of these structures unless their assistance is specifically sought by the Husainabad and Allied Trust. These differences in administration, ownership, jurisdiction and legislation have over the years produced several conflicts and challenges in heritage management at Husainabad. The following sections highlight these through a brief historical and contemporary perspective.

4.4. ADMINISTRATION, OWNERSHIP, JURISDICTION AND LEGISLATION AT HUSAINABAD

A majority of historic structures within the Husainabad historic precinct are primarily administered by the first stakeholder: the Husainabad and Allied Trust. The following sub-section outlines a brief history of the Trust and its activities in Husainabad. The second stakeholder, the ASI was discussed in Chapter 2. Therefore it has not been

discussed individually here. Instead, the central agency's role in the challenges seen at Husainabad is discussed at the end of the sub-section. The third stakeholder, the Shia *Waqf* Board is discussed in the context of not only how the legal meaning of *'waqf'* has impacted the Husainabad and Allied Trust but also how repeated legislative attempts have been made over time to bring the Trust under the Shia *Waqf* Board's administration. If carried out, this transfer would severely impact the Trust's administrative and fiscal autonomy. The latter is also one of the biggest reasons why both the ASI and the Shia *Waqf* Board stake a claim to the Trust's properties as described below.

4.4.1. The Owner & Administrator: The Husainabad and Allied Trust

Brief History

The Husainabad and Allied Trust (Husainabad and Allied Trust) that exists today has its origins in the Husainabad Endowment created by Nawab Mohammad Ali Shah of Avadh. On November 13, 1838, a deed of trust was created for an income of twelve lakh rupees at an interest of four percent (as per East India Company's rates); two Trustees and one Agent were appointed by the king as "hereditary officers". In the event that their heirs failed, the British Resident had the authority to select one pensioner to fill the post after a three-fourths majority vote from the rest of the pensioners. The

endowment was created to not only pay pensions to those who were qualified[45], but to pay for the maintenance of the Husainabad Imambara and the road leading up to it. Income from renting the Husainabad shops was also deposited in the endowment (Stuart 1898, 1). The principal areas of expenditure incurred by the Trust were religious and charitable, as well as maintaining the buildings, roads and parks endowed to the Trust (Stuart 1898, 6). Charity included not only the aforementioned pensions, but also providing shelter at *Rais Manzil* and operating dispensaries[46] and schools in the city (Stuart 1898, 7).

Burial of Muhammadans who died on the Trust premises was also borne by the Trust (Stuart 1898, 11). At the time of his death, the king had given an additional twenty-four lakh rupees to the endowment. Some of the main reasons for making the endowment were to assist members of the Shia community with their pilgrimage to Mecca, charity for those in need and for funding Islamic religious festivities and ceremonies. During the War of 1857, the estimated total value of the Government Promissory Notes and investments was ₹38,50,500, stored in the Trust's care (Stuart 1898, 2). As described at Kaiserbagh and Hazratganj in the following chapters, however, the widespread struggles of 1857-58 had their effect on Husainabad. During the recovery period of 1858, all the promissory notes disappeared. Eventually, most were either recovered or reestablished with the help of duplicate copies. Over two lakh rupees, however, were lost and to date

[45] Qualification included either poverty or incapacity to work (Stuart 1898, 7).
[46] Two dispensaries were permanently maintained by the Trust: one at Husainabad and the other in the city (Stuart 1898, 9).

it is unknown whether they were stolen or were sold off by certain (corrupt) Trustees (Stuart 1898, 2). This was a precursor to the kinds of financial and administrative difficulties that the Trust would face intermittently in later years.

Meanwhile, in an effort to correct the possibility of corruption, the-then Chief Commissioner of Oudh removed these Trustees and the pensioners elected new Trustees, and an Agent. This action was officially declared on February 3, 1860 and the funds were handed over to them. By this time Trust's coffer had been reduced to ₹ 36,75,300.

The previous Trustees did not want to give up their positions, however, eventually taking the matter to a Civil Court, and causing considerable confusion. Taking note of this problem, in 1878 the Government of India passed an Act (Act XV) to provide for better management of the endowment (Hay 1939, 130; Stuart 1898, 3). The Act gave the Trustees a more stable position, and gave the Government the right to remove any officer found corrupt or incapable of carrying out the Trust's work. After the Act was passed, the Trustees agreed to its conditions, resulting in new administration under Babu Birj Bhukhan Lal in 1879. Per rules of the new Act, the Commissioner of Lucknow and the City Magistrate for the first time became official advisors to the Trust. This marked the beginning of the official involvement of Lucknow's local government in the management of Husainabad (Stuart 1898, 4). Despite the local government's presence, however, the principal administration of the Trust remained with its Trustees and

Secretary (Stuart 1898, 5). During this time, the Asafi Imambara was included in the Trust when previously it had been without an endowment (Stuart 1898, 11).

The new system of administration continued over the next few years. However, it was not without challenges. In 1896, and again in 1897, the son of one of the two original Trustees (who was removed after the promissory notes went missing in 1857), wrote a letter to the Government of North Western Provinces and Oudh requesting that either Act XV of 1878 be repealed, and he be reinstated as a Trustee of the endowment, or he be given leave to file a suit for the trust of the deed to be declared. In 1903, he again wrote a petition to the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh protesting the endowment's unwillingness to provide him and his family with an allowance[47] for living costs as well as the maintenance of the Rauza Hazrat Abbas (Government of United Provinces and Oudh 1903). While evidence of other attempts to profit from the Trust were not found, an endowment such as this, holding vast amounts of movable and immovable property, was bound to attract attention because of the size of the accounts.

Activities and Acquisitions

By the turn of the century the Trust had begun to acquire more immovable property through *waqf* deeds and donations, adding considerably to its portfolio of properties. In

[47] The son maintained that his father as a Trustee was promised ₹2000 per month as an allowance by king Mohammad Ali Shah as per the conditions of his original endowment.

1919, the Board of Trustees passed a resolution to take over the management of Karbala Malka Afaq and Imambara of Nawab Wazir Begum at the petition of Nawab Wazir Begum, daughter of the late Sir Mohsin-ud-daula Bahadur, KCSI. She also petitioned for certain movable and immovable property[48] yielding an income of ₹2,787 with a further investment of ₹5000 in cash to be taken over by the Trust, but administered for the benefit of her family. The acceptance of the Board, however, was on the condition that she execute a deed of trust before handing over the property so that all costs for the properties were met by her Trust and not by the Husainabad and Allied Trust (Government of United Provinces and Oudh 1919).

Other instances of acquiring property included government grants and agreements. In 1925, the Lucknow Improvement Trust requested the state government to transfer a plot of *nazul* land measuring 18,960 sq.ft to the Husainabad Trust for road construction with the following conditions: that the road be constructed and maintained by the Trust; they plant and maintain trees along the road; and any soil required for construction be taken only after approval from the Improvement Trust (Government of United Provinces 1925a). By 1926, the Trust became allied to several other smaller Trusts, hence the name Husainabad and Allied Trusts. These trusts were: Abussahib's Trust, Rauza of Kazmain Trust and Wazir Begum's Trust (Government of United Provinces and Oudh 1926).

[48] This property included the Gol Darwaza and the shops around it, the Karbala as well as the shops and grounds around it, as well as Nawab Wazir Begum's palace at Victoria Street.

Between 1926 and 1929, the Husainabad Trust was embroiled in an acquisition controversy pertaining to land that was previously deeded to the Trust by Wazir Begum. This was a shop and its land was needed by the Improvement Trust for one of its schemes. The owner of the shop alleged that while the Trust owned the land, the shop was built by his father and therefore belonged to their family and could not be acquired by the Trust. After a protracted series of civil suits, the shop owner eventually lost (Government of United Provinces 1929).

The Trust's growing fiscal reserves were a direct result of the initial endowment and their increasing collection of properties. Their sound financial footing also enabled it in 1931 to loan a sum of ₹6725, interest-free, for three years, to the Municipal Board of Lucknow for carrying out certain civil works. This loan was especially beneficial for the Trust, who expected to get an increased income as a result of the civil works carried out by the Municipal Board (Government of United Provinces 1928a). This loan was a testament to just how robust the Trust's financial situation had become over time.

Despite the financial success, however, the Trust continued to carry out its primary mandate of charitable work. By 1939, the Trust was known for its Muharram celebrations and organization of other celebrations throughout the year. Managed by a committee, Hay noted that the Trust sent over eighty pilgrims to the Karbala (in Iran) every year with a sum of ₹150. The Trust also gave food and distributed it freely not

only during Muharram but during Ramzan[49] as well. Families who were destitute were given shelter at the building made specifically for this purpose: *Rais Manzil*[50] (Hay 1939, 117). This practice of providing shelter at *Rais Manzil* is continued by the HAT.

Today, the Husainabad and Allied Trust is the primary stakeholder for the various historic properties described in the previous section, all falling within the Husainabad area. The Trust manages and maintains these properties, and also manages ticketing for the three major historic sites of Husainabad Imambara, Asafi Imambara and the Picture Gallery. Pursuant to the amendments made to its Endowment Act, the Husainabad and Allied Trust is today chaired by the District Magistrate of Lucknow and the Additional District Magistrate is its Secretary. The Trust is thus effectively under the local government's administration-- without, however, losing its fiscal autonomy as an independent Trust. The Husainabad and Allied Trust also continues to fight for administrative and fiscal autonomy from the Shia *Waqf* Board in Uttar Pradesh as the next section explains.

4.4.2. The Heritage-Act Administrator: The Archaeological Survey of India

The ASI has been previously described in detail in Chapter 2. The agency's role in the conflict at Husainabad is described in the next section.

4.4.3. The Claimant: The *Waqf*[51] Board

[49] Also known as Ramadan, this is the Islamic month of fasting.
[50] Rais in Urdu translates to "rich" and Manzil is "destination". The building was thus named to as to not shame those who sought shelter there.

'Waqf' Defined

Waqf or *wakf*, in its most basic translation, is an endowment created under Islamic law[52] by a donor (*waqif/wakif*) to allow for the donation of movable *and* immovable property in the name of God, especially to allow Muslims to benefit from its revenue (Shamim 2011). Within this larger concept of endowment are three specific kinds of *waqf*: *waqf al-al-khair*[53] and *waqf al-al-aulad*[54], and *waqf* by user[55]. Once a donor has created a *waqf* of any kind of his/her legally owned property, it cannot be reversed and will always remain a *waqf* property. Additionally, a *waqif* ceases to have any hold or claim to the property he/she deeded as *waqf* (I. Husain 2010, 1). A *waqf* property cannot be sold; however, under extenuating circumstances[56] a committee is created by the relevant *Waqf* Board to sell the property in question and replace it with another property.

All *waqf* properties have a deed, a *waqf-nama* which includes information not only on the property, its benefactors, and how income from it has to be disbursed, but also about its future managers and caretakers (called *mutwallis*). In the event that a deed of

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[51] *Waqf* can be described as a charitable endowment made in dedication to God, used in both Urdu and Arabic.
[52] Islamic law relating to trusts differs from English law in its fundamental aspect of dedicating property into the ownership of God, with all revenue arising from the property to be used for charitable purposes (I. Husain 2010, 1).
[53] An endowment made by a *waqif* for the benefit of others.
[54] An endowment made by a *waqif* to benefit their kin and heirs.
[55] An endowment made by a *waqif* for a particular use or purpose.
[56] These extreme circumstances can include conditions where a property is physically unapproachable due to its location or other considerations, thus necessitating its sale and replacement with another property that can yield revenue for charitable purposes.

waqf is unavailable, a committee formed by the *Waqf* Board determines the property's future and its income and assigns its caretakers (Shamim 2011).

Federal Legislation

This concept of *waqf* has been legitimized in Indian society through a series of laws. The birth of religious and charitable endowments in India can be traced to the nineteenth century. The earliest legislation regarding Hindu and Islamic trusts, the Religious Endowments Act, was passed in 1863 under which properties relating to religious, charitable and public endowments were transferred to trustees, managers or superintendents", and local committees were formed to exercise the powers previously held by the Board of Revenue (I. Husain 2010, 2).

Under the Charitable Properties Act of 1890, all charitable endowments[57] in the country came under a Central Treasurer's review (I. Husain 2010, 2). A few years later, the first legislation directly relating to *waqfs* came in the form of The Mussalman *Waqf* Validating Act, 1913 (Act no.6 of 1913), which was created "to declare the rights of Mussalman to make settlements of property by way of '*waqf*' in favor of their families, children and descendents" (I. Husain 2010, 200). This Act came under strict criticism, however, because it didn't recognize a *waqf* created for family, resulting in widespread protests by Muslims to the then Viceroy, Lord Curzon (I. Husain 2010, 3).

[57] These were endowments which had been "established for the relief of the poor, education, medical relief or any other object of public utility" (I. Husain 2010, 2).

The Mussalman *Waqf* Validating Act, 1923 (Act no.42 of 1923), followed a decade later to provide for better management of a *waqf* property and to ensure their proper accounting (I. Husain 2010, 201). The Mussalman *Waqf* Validating Act, 1930 (Act no.32 of 1930) was created to give retrospective effect to the Mussalman *Waqf* Validating Act, 1913) (I. Husain 2010, 205). In addition, various states and principalities also drafted their own *Waqf* Acts, followed by the Central *Waqf* Act in 1954 (Act XXIV of 1954), created to manage *waqfs* better. This Act extended to all states of India except for Jammu and Kashmir. An amendment to the Act of 1954, and other changes adopted in 1959, 1964 and 1969 dealt with various issues raised by the Muslim community (I. Husain 2010, 7).

Waqf Legislation in Uttar Pradesh

While the Central *Waqf* Act was applied to properties across India, it was not applicable in the states of Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal without the recommendation of the respective State governments, because each state had its own *Waqf* Act (I. Husain 2010, 5). The government of Uttar Pradesh began proceedings to create a state-level *Waqf* Act a few years after Independence. In 1950, the state government formed a committee which determined that Trusts like the Husainabad and Allied Trust were public *waqfs* and therefore should be brought under the *Waqf*s Act (National Herald 1955). This position was perceived by some, as a ploy to extract large sums of money from the Husainabad Trust by making it a part of UP Muslim *Waqf*s Act.

Additionally it was felt that the provisions of the Husainabad Endowment Act and those of the *Waqf* Act were at variance with each other with regard to the administration and management. The Husainabad Endowment Act conferred power on the local government, while the latter conferred them on the *Waqf* Board (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1949b). Members of the public, however, felt that the Trusts should be made public to stop only a select few from benefiting from them; as per existing rules, only members of the Awadh royal families can be paid Trustees of the Husainabad and Allied Trust (S. S. Husain 1955).

The Raja of Pirpur, Syed Ahmed Mehdi, also publicly supported the amendment because he felt that the Husainabad Trust was being mismanaged and its legislation was obsolete and needed to be up-to-date with the prevailing democratic government (*Pioneer* News Service 1955b). He believed that some individuals were misguiding the public about the perceived consequences of the Trust being managed by the *Waqf* Board (National Herald 1955). The proposed amendment also received the support of Mr. Wasi Naqvi, a Congress party Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) in Uttar Pradesh. He echoed Mr.Mehdi's belief that the Trust was governed by legislation that needed to be updated for Husainabad to be managed more efficiently (*Pioneer* News Service 1955a).

As a result of the conflict, many members of the Shia community of Lucknow came together to form the Husainabad Protection Committee with seventy-two elected members, and a Council of Action comprising fourteen members (Government of Uttar

Pradesh 1949b). In November, 1955, the Secretary of the Council of Action presented a memorandum to the government containing resolutions passed by the Shias of Lucknow, the District Shia Conference in Kanpur, the Provincial Shia Conference, the District Shia Conference of Lucknow and the UP Shia Political Conference, all raising strong objections to the proposed amendments, and to being left out of any dialogue to discuss the amendment (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1949b).

After several years of back and forth discussions, a Bill was eventually created in 1955. Initially called the UP *Waqf* Amendment Bill of 1955, it caused widespread protests within the Shia community against including the Husainabad and Allied Trust and Shah Najaf Trust within the purview of the UP Muslim *Waqf* Act. This was, however, not the first time that the community had raised objections to changing the Husainabad legislation. Several attempts were made in 1933, 1936 and 1939 to bring the Trust under the state *Waqf,* but none came to fruition (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1949b).

Finally, in 1960, the UP Muslim *Waqf*s Act (Act XVI of 1960) was enacted, replacing the patchwork of its predecessors. This Act was significant because it also applied to the endowments governed by the Husainabad Endowment Act of 1878, as well as various other similar endowments in the state. It stipulated the appointment of a Commissioner of *Waqfs* by the State government for surveying[58] and administering the various *waqf* properties. The Act also necessitated the creation of a Shia and a Sunni *Waqf* Board in

[58] The Act stipulated separate tabulations for Shia and Sunni properties.

the state to administer each sect's *waqf* properties[59] (Government of Uttar Pradesh 1960). Out of over 125,000 *waqf* properties in UP, a mere 8000 come under the Shia Central Board of *Waqf* (U.P.) with a majority falling under the Sunni Central Board of *Waqf* (U.P.) (Shamim 2011). The UP Muslim *Waqf* Act was amended in 1963 to include the following proviso with respect to its application to the Husainabad Endowment Act:

> ….and all these endowments, trusts and *waqf*s shall be deemed to be *waqf*s for the purpose of this Act. Provided that the State government shall have the power to make, by notification in the official *Gazette*, such adaptations, whether by way of modification, addition or omission, not affecting the substance of the provisions of this Act, as it may deem fit, in its application to the aforesaid endowments, trusts and *waqf*s".

This amendment gave the state government a say in how the Act was applied to the endowment. As a result, the HAT was left as an independent entity, until the Central *Waqf* Act in 1995.

Continued dissatisfaction with the management of endowments and Trusts led to new central legislation, The *Waqf* Act, 1995 (No.43 of 1995), designed to provide for the better administration of *Waqfs* and for related matters (I. Husain 2010, 7). The Act brought all the Indian states under one, umbrella legislation. One of the biggest challenges that this Act faced was that it attempted to bring the Husainabad Endowment under its purview, leaving only the Ajmer Sharif Trust as an independent entity. This was not acceptable to the Husainabad Trust, and since then they have been

[59] Uttar Pradesh has the distinction of being the only state with separate Shia and Sunni *Waqf* Boards; all other states have a single *Waqf* Board that administers all *waqf* properties within that state (Ministry of Minority Affairs 2013).

embroiled in litigation, trying to maintain their autonomy from the *Waqf* Board in Uttar Pradesh. As a consequence, the Husainabad and Allied Trust today follows and rules and regulations of the 1960 legislation, effectively prohibiting the Shia *Waqf* Board from any involvement within the administration and management of the Hussainabad and Allied Trust, its properties and its endowments (Mehndi 2012; Shamim 2011).

In 2006, the controversy reared its head again when the Shia *Waqf* Board in the state issued an order for the local cleric to take over the chairmanship of the Husainabad and Allied Trust Committee. This move was vociferously protested by the members of the Royal Family of Avadh, who threatened another round of litigation (HT Correspondent 2006b). Today, the competing claims of ownership and administration from the Trust and the Shia *Waqf* Board (U.P.) continue to cause conflict in the use and management of the monumental religious and civic Shia structures.

The Waqf Development Corporation (Waqf Vikas Nigam)

On April 27, 1987 the Government of Uttar Pradesh created the *Waqf* Vikas Nigam as a state corporation with full government financial power. Since then, the Corporation has developed over 116 properties, currently producing an annual income of ₹67.38 lakh. The Corporation's maximum authorized capital is ten crore rupees with seven and a half crore rupees being the maximum capital paid thus far. The procedure for implementing projects under the Corporation is similar to that of other city development agencies like the Lucknow Development Authority.

Before a project is undertaken, the corporation first ascertains the property's provenance and *waqf* status. Once the property is established as a *waqf,* a feasibility study is conducted and estimates prepared with the caveat of a maximum expenditure of ₹50 lakh on a single project. Additionally a No-Objection Certificate is also sought from the District Magistrate for every project undertaken by the Corporation. Subsequently the *mutwalli* (caretaker) of the concerned property, the Board and the corporation enter into an agreement regarding the details of the scheme.

The corporation charges a fee of six percent of the project cost for its own revenue. Additionally, the Corporation's engineering division was created for site supervision services, charging 12.5% supervision fees for implementation and execution of a project. The *Waqf* Development Corporation does not work on any projects or sites involving the HAT owing to the controversial nature of its relationship with the *Waqf* Board.

Given that the Corporation deals with *waqf* properties, majority of which are historic in nature, it can be in a unique position to be a future asset and potential stakeholder in the development of the Husainabad area and other *waqf* properties in the city. At present the HAT and the *Waqf* Boards (Shia and Sunni) in the state employ non-professionals for the care and maintenance of historic properties under their ownership. An agency like the Corporation can create a 'Heritage Cell or Wing' and employ preservation professionals to carry out specialized restoration and conservation projects at the various *waqf* properties that are deemed historic.

4.4.4. The Problem of Jurisdiction and Legislation: Who Can Do What, and How?

Apart from the issues of ownership and administration described thus far, Husainabad also faces the challenge of determining jurisdiction in terms of preservation and use of properties. Legislation also plays a role in determining how the historic properties and their surrounding areas are treated. As nationally-designated sites, many of the structures within Husainabad fall under the jurisdiction of the ASI and within the purview of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act of 1958 and its Amendment of 2010. This is despite the Husainabad Trust owning most of these properties. The area is also designated as a Heritage Zone at the local level, bringing it under the purview of the Lucknow Development Authority, and the Town & Country Planning Office, and the provisions of the Master Plan. This sub-section situates the involvement of the ASI in a historical perspective to illustrate how jurisdiction has worked over time. The involvement of city agencies is also discussed in the context of Husainabad being a Heritage Zone.

ASI's Role at Husainabad

Chapter 2 described how the central and provincial government agencies attempted to preserve the historic properties in Lucknow for over one hundred and fifty years. Husainabad, as a historic precinct, has been fortunate in repeated and sustained restoration campaigns by the Archaeological Survey of India for over a century. And, it has for long enjoyed recognition as one of the city's major historic destinations.

The 1886 list of objects of antiquarian interest in the-then North-Western Provinces and Oudh (Appendix A), described in Chapter 3, include the primary structures of the Husainabad complex: Asafi Imambara, Husainabad Imambara, Asafi Mosque and Rumi Darwaza. They are classified under list II(B) as "monuments in possession of private bodies or individuals", which in this case is the Husainabad Trust. At the time the lists were made, the Asafi Imambara and Mosque were being used as a "military gun shed and ordnance store", while the Husainabad Imambara was in continual sacred and religious use under the terms of the endowment created for it by the late Nawab (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886a).

Recognized and formal efforts at restoring the structures in Husainabad, by the ASI began later. Sir John Marshall's Annual Report from 1902-1903 for the Archaeological Survey of India noted conservation work being carried out at the Jami Masjid. Marshall also noted that this work was carried out more in the interests of the Islamic community that used the structure than for the mosque's architectural or archaeological value, given than the building "is of a late inferior style and decorated with plaster and paint in execrable taste" (Marshall 1902, 26). Given the opulence of the Mughal buildings, as well as buildings dating back to other empires, engineers in the Survey initially had not been quite as enamored with the Nawabi architecture found in Lucknow. In his 1903-04 report, Marshall referred to the "utilitarian" work that had been carried out at Jami Masjid (Figure 86) the previous year to emphasize the lack of architectural merit of buildings of Oudh as compared to the majestic splendor of their Mughal cousins in Agra

and Delhi. In 1912, some other sites in Lucknow began to get official attention and began to be conserved. It was however almost a decade before other significant structures in and around the Husainabad area were preserved.

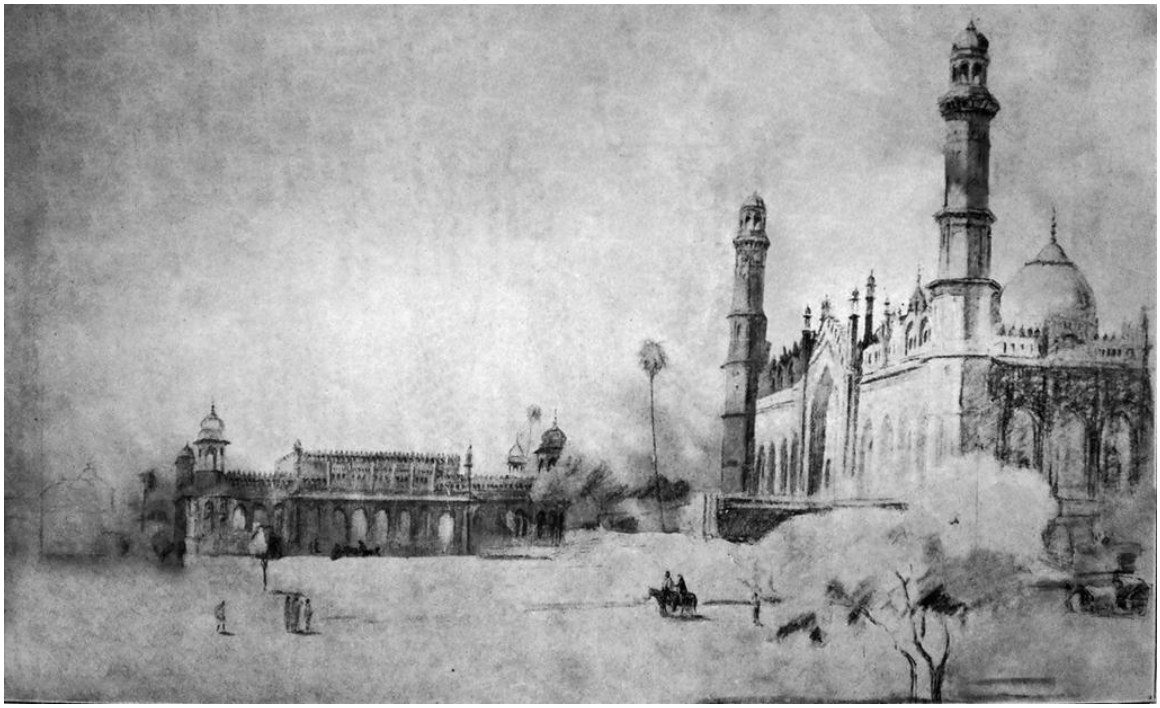

Figure 86: Painting of the Jami Masjid in 1919.
Adapted from: Unknown artist, *Jumma Masjid showing proposed restoration of old buildings for the Shiah high school,* 1919. From: Municipal Department File 500E, *Lucknow Improvement Schemes* (Lucknow: UP State Archives, 2012), Plate IX.

Rauza-e-Kazmain, a structure protected by ASI but administered by the Husainabad Trust, was repaired in 1918 by the Archaeological Department with funding from the Government of United Provinces. Work on the Rauza, its adjacent shops and the Kufa Mosque continued until 1930 (Marshall 1923, 6; Blakiston 1924, 5; Sahni 1929, 8).

In 1935-36 the principal buildings of Husainabad eventually received official attention from the ASI. Special repairs were carried out at the Asafi Imambara; a drain was

constructed to carry off rain water from the roof to a neighboring ditch. In 1934, the tower on the eastern corner of the outer gate of the Imambara collapsed. Its reconstruction was begun in 1935 but due to lack of funds carried over to the next financial year.

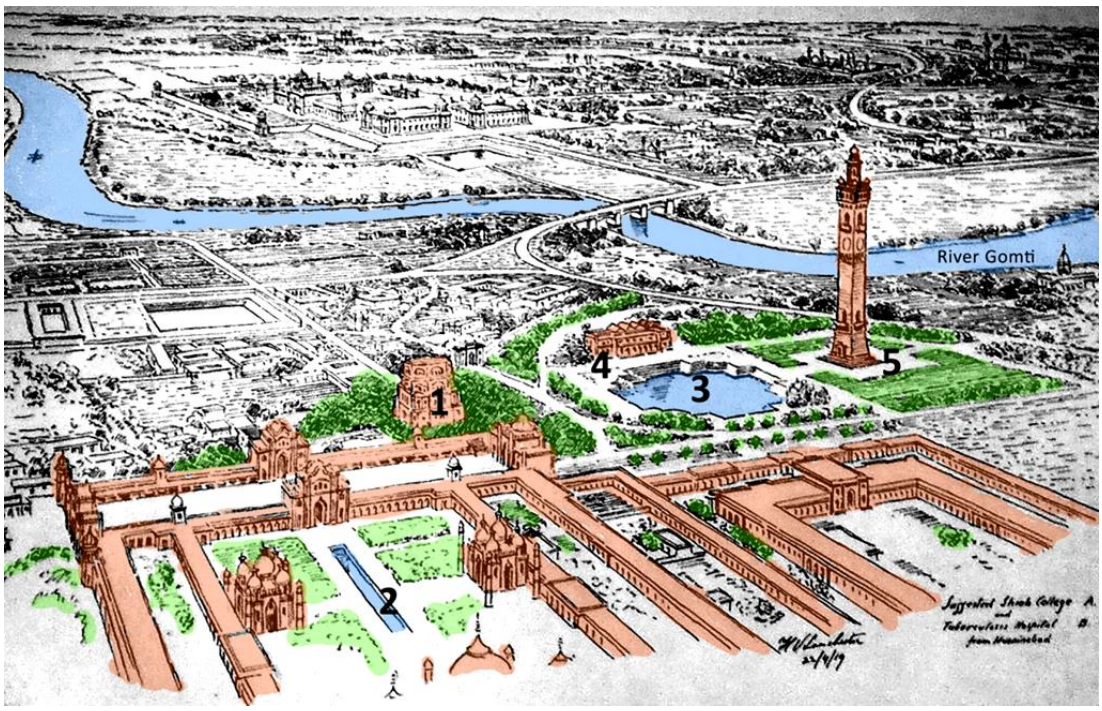

Figure 87: Aerial sketch of the Husainabad area with Satkhanda (1) in the center, Picture Gallery (4), water tank (3) and clock tower (5) on the right and Husainabad Imambara complex (2) in the foreground.
Adapted from H.V Lanchester, *Suggested Shiah College 'A' and Tuberculosis Hospital 'B' from Husainabad,* 1919. From: Municipal Department File 500E, *Lucknow Improvement Schemes* (Lucknow: UP State Archives, 2012), Plate VIII.

Noting the Imambara's importance, the ASI prepared an elaborate scheme for its repairs. Extensive repairs to its roof, ceiling (326' by 156' and 53' in height) and façade (Figure 88) were carried out between 1935 and 1938 (Blakiston 1935; Dikshit 1936; Dikshit 1937).

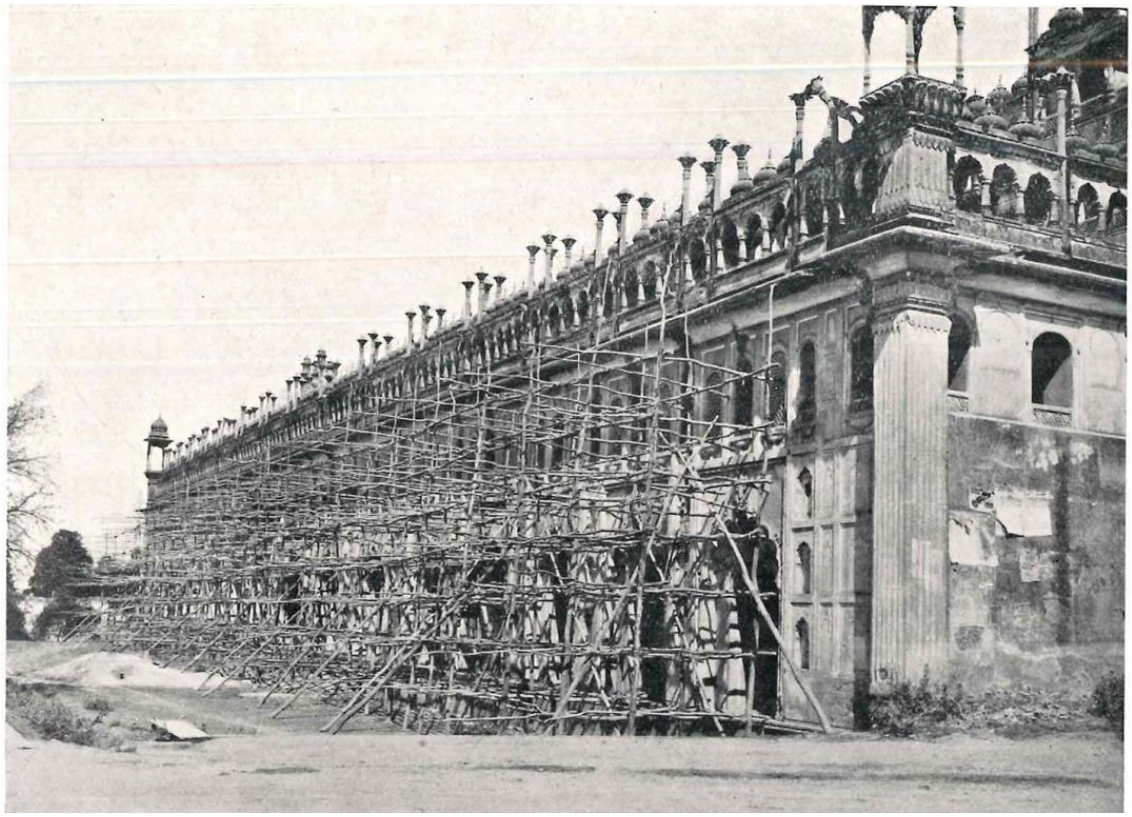

Figure 88: Unknown photographer, *Imambara of Asaf-ud-Daula with scaffolding at the back*, 1936. From: Archaeological Survey of India, *Annual Report 1936-37*, (New Delhi: Government of India) Plate II.

In the next two decades, the ASI continued its primary focus on the various monuments in Agra. While a few structures in Lucknow sporadically received attention, it was only by 1957-58 that the Archaeological Survey of India brought its attention back to Husainabad and made repairs to the Asafi Imambara and Rumi Darwaza (Ghosh 1957, 85). Between 1958 and 1964 the ASI repaired large sections of the *baoli* (step-well) located within the compound of the Asafi Imambara, the main Imambara structure, and the Rumi Darwaza (Ghosh 1958; Ghosh 1959; Ghosh 1960; Ghosh 1964).

Over the next few years, the Residency compound became the focus of the ASI's preservation and landscape activities and Husainabad received minor repairs. But by

1975, significant work took place at Husainabad again. Extensive repairs were made on the main Imambara (Figure 89, Figure 90), Rumi Darwaza (Figure 91 to Figure 94), the main gateway to the Imambara complex, the Jama Masjid and the Rauza-e-Kazmain intermittently until 1983 (Thapar 1975; Thapar 1976; Thapar 1977; Thapar 1978; Mitra 1979; Mitra 1980; Rao 1982; Rao 1983).

Figure 89: Unknown photographer, *Asaf-ud Daula's Imambara, Lucknow: Southern façade of 1st entrance gateway before conservation*.
From: Archaeological Survey of India, *Indian Archaeology 1983-84*, (New Delhi: Government of India) Plate 124.

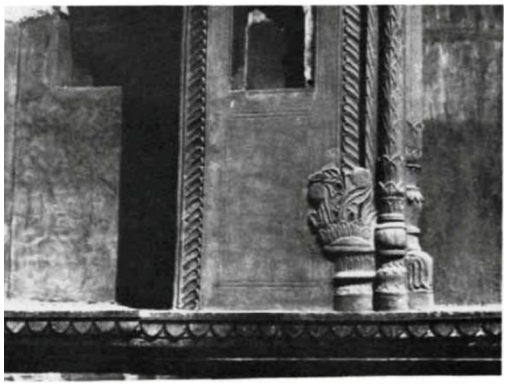

Figure 90: Unknown photographer, *Asaf-ud Daula's Imambara, Lucknow: Southern façade of 1st entrance gateway after conservation*.
From: Archaeological Survey of India, *Indian Archaeology 1983-84*, (New Delhi: Government of India) Plate 125.

Figure 91: Unknown photographer. *Lucknow Rumi Darwaza: South Bastion western façade before conservation*.
From: Archaeological Survey of India, *Indian Archaeology 1983-84*, (New Delhi: Government of India) Plate 126.

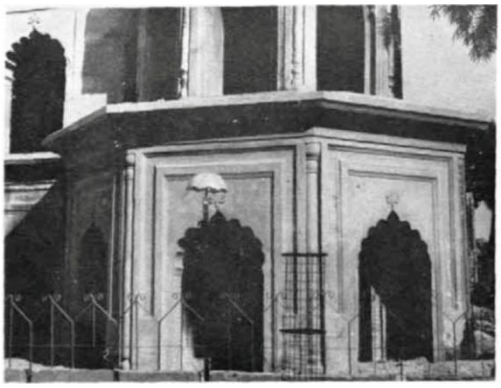

Figure 92: Unknown photographer. *Lucknow Rumi Darwaza: South Bastion western façade after conservation*.
From: Archaeological Survey of India, *Indian Archaeology 1983-84*, (New Delhi: Government of India) Plate 127.

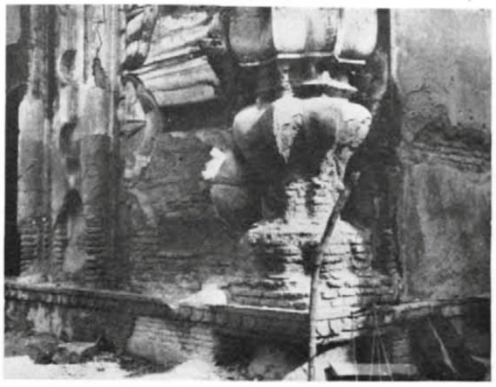

Figure 93: Unknown photographer, *Lucknow Rumi Darwaza: Before conservation*.
From: Archaeological Survey of India, *Indian Archaeology 1983-84*, (New Delhi: Government of India) Plate 128.

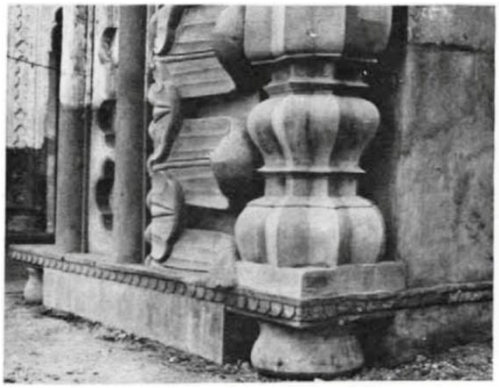

Figure 94: Unknown photographer, *Lucknow Rumi Darwaza: After conservation*.
From: Archaeological Survey of India, *Indian Archaeology 1983-84*, (New Delhi: Government of India) Plate 129.

The following year, work continued on repairing sections of the Asafi Imambara, the Jama Masjid, the Asafi Mosque and the Rumi Darwaza, lasting well into the next decade. In 1987, the ASI also carried out architectural surveys in Husainabad to determine the status of important properties in the area (Tripathi 1984; J. P. Joshi 1985; M. Joshi 1986; M. Joshi 1987, 196; M. Joshi 1988, 155). In 1989, perhaps for the first time, the ASI began to repair sections of the Picture Gallery. Work on the gallery structure, the Jama Masjid, the Asafi Imambara and the Asafi Mosque continued for a few years (Mahapatra 1989; Mahapatra 1990; B. Singh 1991, 180; Shankar 1992, 169; Manjhi 1994, 126; Menon 1995, 178; Menon 1996, 288; Menon 1997, 311). Finally, work on repairing the dome of the Asafi mosque was concluded in 1992, bringing an end to the three-stage process (Bisht 1993, 179).

Meanwhile, the ASI continued its preservation efforts at the Asafi Imambara complex, its gateways, and the cemetery of the *Macchi Bhawan* fort between 1998 and 1999 (Misra 1998; Rajeev 1999). The following year, work on the Jama Masjid was brought to a conclusion (Rajeev 2000, 274). At the turn of the new millennium, extensive work was begun by the ASI to reclaim from encroachments and restore the Naubat Khana building, across the street from the Asafi Imambara (Figure 95 and Figure 96). Work in the initial year between 2001 and 2002 included extensive repairs to the Naubat Khana and the Rumi Darwaza (Vaish 2001, 481).

Figure 95: Asafi Imambara, Naubat Khana before conservation.
From: Archaeological Survey of India, *Indian Archaeology 2001-02*, (New Delhi: Government of India) Plate 386.

Figure 96: Asafi Imambara, Naubat Khana after conservation.
From: Archaeological Survey of India, *Indian Archaeology 2001-02*, (New Delhi: Government of India) Plate 387.

In 2002 the Archaeological Survey of India again carried out some repairs at the Asafi Imambara, the Jami Masjid and the Naubat Khana (K. Srivastava 2002, 543). The work at Naubat Khana continued until 2010 (Figure 97, Figure 98) (Khan 2012). In 2003, there was no mention of work carried out in Husainabad apart from at the Kazmain building, also administered by the HAT; façade restoration work was carried out by the ASI

through reapplication of fresh lime plaster (Sengupta 2003, 549). Reports after 2003-2004 are unfortunately not yet publicly available. Despite the lack of further information, the narrative thus far clearly illustrates the principal role played by the ASI in maintaining and preserving most historic properties within the Husainabad area. In recent years, though, the ASI has increasingly faced opposition from the Husainabad and Allied Trust in any involvement beyond the physical repair of a particular historic structure.

Figure 97: The Naubat Khana gateway (left), across from the gateway to Asafi Imambara (right). Scaffolding on the Naubat Khana gateway is visible.
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

Figure 98: The Naubat Khana gateway today.
Source: Author, 2013.

A prime example of ASI's frequent inability today to carry out its tasks is the Rumi Gate, which has had significant cracks for over a decade. The ASI has been unable to get the district or city administration to divert traffic away from the gateway. Only diverting traffic away from this very busy route (Figure 99, Figure 100), would allow the ASI to fully construct the scaffolding required to do the necessary repairs on the iconic site.

And, since the District Magistrate presides over The Trust, his views are influenced by not only the Trust but also the local community. As a result, the district administration has over the years maintained the view that any such actions will adversely affect the Shia community that lives and prays in the area (Jeelani 2013). Consequently the gateway continues to be threatened by heavy traffic.

Figure 99: Partial scaffolding visible on the gate to undertake small repairs.
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

Figure 100: Heavy vehicles like the truck in the image continue to damage The Rumi Gate, despite larger vehicles being banned from this route.
Source: Author, 2013.

A recent case exemplifies the administrative conflict at the micro level. The ASI, as it does for all its other protected sites, expressed an interest in establishing a small bookstall within the premises of the Asafi Imambara to make their publications available to visitors. The Trust has repeatedly rejected this proposal, perceiving it to be a threat to

their ownership of the site. The ASI, an organization that normally maintains primary control of the sites under its purview, has little control in this instance, both administratively and fiscally. This condition leads to constant conflicts between the ASI and the Trust on issues as minor as setting up a bookstall and as major as the physical restoration of the structures (Khan 2012; Pathak 2012; Mehndi 2012).

Usually when a site is protected by ASI, agreements are made with the principal stakeholder (in this case, the Trust) so that the management of the site in question is distributed. This did not happen in the case of Husainabad, leading to conflicts. Problems repeatedly arise when management responsibilities are not defined and distributed because the responsibility for tasks and duties is unclear. As the national-level agency that protects sites, ASI does its duty by repairing and preserving the protected sites, but there is no demarcation of what, how much, and where they will regularly undertake the work. Additionally, the ASI administration admits it has insufficient funds and personnel. As a consequence, the ASI is able to only undertake what they call “special maintenance” where a structure or its part is in dire need of repair or restoration. In Husainabad, all other aspects of the site, including maintenance, security, safety and ticketing are taken care of by the Trust. Although the ASI acts independently as a federal agency, it needs the cooperation of the district administration to carry out its duties and needs their help in enforcement. In the case of Husainabad, because the District Magistrate (head of the district) is also the chairman of the Trust and therefore often signs off on many of the activities that the ASI wishes to

protest, the conflict of interest is abundantly clear (Khan 2012; Pathak 2012; Mehndi 2012).

Role of the Local Administration and the Husainabad Trust

The creation of Heritage Zones brought a more focused involvement of the local administration at Husainabad. Previously, city agencies mainly carried out civil and infrastructural activities within Husainabad. Office records show that the local government began to pay attention to the tourism potential of historic areas like Husainabad in the mid-1990s[60]. In December 1996, various local and state government officers met to discuss issues related to traffic management, preservation, conservation and management of historic properties, restoring and upgrading the Picture Gallery, tourist amenities, training programs for guides and the removal of encroachments. As far back as 1996 proposals were made to provide shoe covers to visitors especially in light of the extreme heat and cold radiated by the stones. Sadly, this scheme has not been implemented to date (Asheesh Srivastava 2012a).

At a similar meeting in December, a new route was proposed along the river to divert traffic from Rumi Gate and relocate families encroaching in the Residency, Naubat Khana and Asafi Imambara. The LDA, District Administration, and the Husainabad and Allied Trust were asked by the Commissioner of Lucknow to carry out this task together. This meeting also discussed the creation of "model" bylaws for Kaiserbagh and

[60] Records and files prior to this period were unavailable.

Husainabad Heritage Areas to regulate construction and stop illegal encroachments near historic structures. And the previous autonomy enjoyed by the Husainabad Trust guides was proposed to be halted with set rates displayed prominently for tourists. The Trust was also asked to train its guides under the guidance of the Department of Tourism through the Institute for Tourism Management. These well-meaning proposals, however, never came to pass (Asheesh Srivastava 2012a).

In February 2000, state and city government officials once again held a meeting to discuss the development of the Husainabad Heritage Zone especially in context of the judgment[61] passed by the High Court on January 21, 2000. The order passed by the High Court encompassed the following:

1. A new by-pass road should be created to ensure heavy vehicles do not pass through Rumi Gate on the current Hardoi Road highway that passes the Asafi Imambara.
2. Parking areas should be allocated for buses, trucks and taxis near Rumi Gate to allow for the beautification of the area.
3. Thought should be given to protect and preserve the historic sites in the area and to contain the rampant encroachments to allow for beautification and landscape work.

At the meeting, attention was also brought to the work by ASI in removing encroachments from the Naubat Khana structure and providing the encroachers with alternative housing. To avoid future encroachments, fencing around the area was

[61] This judgment was in response to a Public Interest Litigation (PIL) filed by the Nishatganj Residents Welfare Association against the Lucknow Nagar Nigam (Municipal Corporation). The PIL sought to make Lucknow a 'modern, livable city' by holding the local agencies responsible. Illegal encroachments and gross oversights in construction activity within the Heritage Zones formed part of the PIL and the eventual judgment (Times News Network 2004a).

proposed and funding was requested for security guards to man the area. It was also proposed that the shops within the Asafi Imambara be brought out of the compound and tourist-related facilities be provided. Funding was made available for the creation of Sulabh (public) toilets in the area. Much like Naubat Khana, it was felt that the encroachments in and around the Satkhanda needed to be removed.

In early November 2007, the Commissioner of Lucknow chaired a meeting during which tourism and culture related issues were discussed. The Principal Secretary of Tourism noted, that annually, tourism increased significantly after mid-November and therefore the primary tourist attraction of the city, the Husainabad Heritage Zone be developed such that it was landscaped, cleaned, repaired, and restored. The Department of Culture was asked to organize cultural events and shows in the area to augment the tourist experience. The Department of Tourism also requested the Lucknow Development Authority and Lucknow Municipal Corporation for permission to organize a food plaza in the Husainabad Heritage Zone and was promised the allocation of land for their endeavor (Husainabad Allied Trust 2012). This project, like the ones before, is yet to be implemented.

Clearly, creation of the Husainabad Heritage Zone, first through the 2001 and then the 2021 Master Plans, and growing tourist visits elicited the local administration's interest. However, rarely have any of the well-intentioned and often urgently needed projects discussed been executed at Husainabad. One of the primary reasons for this disconnect between project proposal and implementation is lack of a local-level mechanism

concerned wholly with implementing, overseeing and managing heritage-related projects. Consequently, when disparate local and state government representatives meet to discuss issues, no single department can claim responsibility for implementing heritage-related projects. Just as the Horticulture Department, the Transportation Department and the Housing Department each have their focus areas, the city needs a nodal agency at the local level to ensure execution, implementation and management of historic resources in the city. Placing responsibility on the ill-equipped owners/ Trusts, or holding them wholly responsible to preserve and maintain non-ASI protected properties has not proven successful either.

In early 2000, during the meetings discussed earlier, the local administration put forth proposals to restore the Husainabad Clock Tower and develop the Picture Gallery as a museum. While the *Waqf* Vikas Nigam was one of several agencies involved in the development and execution of the project to repair the Clock Tower, primary responsibility and funding came from the Trust. Initially, the plan was to sell off the old, defunct clock and replace it with a new one. This plan, however, was met with stiff local protests, especially from the Shia community who felt that the clock was an antique, historic piece that should be repaired and restored inside the tower and not sold (HT Correspondent 2001; *Jagran* Correspondent 2001).

The Trust then decided to solicit the services of professional clockmakers because the historic clock[62] in the tower had been left unrepaired for several decades (Figure 101 and Figure 102). Consequently a firm from Calcutta was sought to inspect the Clock Tower in April 2001. The estimates for the work, however, were not agreeable to the Trust, and fresh estimates were sought. After nearly a year, clockmakers from the city of Bareilly were eventually commissioned to begin repair work. But progress was so delayed by the clockmakers, that by February 2005, work was still not complete, forcing the District Magistrate (DM) of Lucknow, as the representative of the Trust, to issue a cancellation notice for their work order. The DM also asked his counterpart in Bareilly to take the required legal action against the defaulting clockmakers.

Figure 101: Inside view of the Husainabad Clock Tower's broken mechanism.
Source: The Lucknow Society, 2011.

Figure 102: Husainabad Clock Tower with the Rumi Gate in the background.
Source: The Lucknow Society, 2011.

[62] This clock was made by Benson & Hedges Company in the early 1800s and its chimes could once be heard two to three kilometers afar. Made with elements of steel, copper, silver and gold, this clock needed to be wound only once a week (*Hindustan* Correspondent 2001).

As a result of the continued negligence and incomplete repair, the clock remained defunct until 2010, when a retired mechanical engineer and a retired merchant navy officer took a personal interest in restoring the clock to full working order. Armed with a special permission from the District Magistrate, in April 2010, the duo partnered with the Husainabad Trust's Secretary, (the Additional District Magistrate) to repair the clock after a gap of over four decades (Sharda 2010; *Times* News Network 2012b). This time around, Husainabad Trust spent about 6.11 lakh rupees in labor and parts, a mere fraction of their original allocation for the project, and much more economical than their previous attempt in 2003 (*Times* News Network 2010k). In fact it was projected that the chimes and gongs of the clock would also be fully functional by April of 2011 (Sharda 2011). By September 2011, the Trust and the city were celebrating the first chimes from the clock. However, only one side of the clock had been fixed; the other three were eventually finished by March 2012 (*Times* News Network 2011e; *Times* News Network 2012b).

Figure 103: Husainabad Clock Tower after restoration.
Source: The Lucknow Society, 2011.

Figure 104: Husainabad Clock Tower after restoration.
Source: The Lucknow Society, 2011.

The Clock Tower was not the only property where the Trust, in partnership with city agencies, attempted to undertake restoration work, despite having no professionally-trained staff. In 2008, several meetings were held to develop and restore the Satkhanda area. It was decided that Lucknow Municipal Corporation (LMC) and Lucknow Development Authority (LDA) would take charge of the project (Husainabad Allied Trust 2012). The Satkhanda suffered from excessive amount of debris, stray animals, garbage, and lack of lighting (Figure 105 and Figure 106).

Figure 105: View of Satkhanda and its dirty environs from the Husainabad Trust Road.
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

Figure 106: View of the Satkhanda and its dirty environs with a partial view of the Akbari Gateway.
Source: Author, 2004.

In February 2009, the Secretary of the Trust issued a press release announcing plans for restoring and renovating the Satkhanda area by removing all encroachments, creating a boundary wall and restoring the abandoned and ruinous Satkhanda structure in partnership with the Lucknow Municipal Corporation and the State Horticulture Department. The ASI's permission and assistance were sought to carry out the project,

not only because the structure was designated by the ASI, but also because the Trust lacked qualified personnel. Finally, with initial allocation of funds from the LMC, work began in March 2009.

By June 2009, however, faulty drainage led to water-logging at the recently constructed Satkhanda Park. In July, the District Magistrate of Lucknow issued a public notice stating that the Satkhanda structure was an important resource for the city and therefore needed to be preserved. He asked for the community's cooperation in getting all encroachments in the area removed and allowing the Trust to properly develop the area. In 2010, the Trust unveiled plans to repair, renovate and reconstruct sections of the never-completed Satkhanda (Amar Ujala Bureau 2010c). By October however, despite restoration work being in full progress, the newly installed glass panes in Satkhanda were already cracked and the walls were lined with graffiti. While this was a sad example of vandalism, the Trust decided to finish all the restoration work before attending to the damage on the lower levels (Mathur 2010b).

Eventually, the Trust elicited the ASI's help. In October 2009 and again in February 2011, the Chairman of the Trust requested the nomination of an ASI officer to guide and assist the preservation work to be carried out at the Trust's properties. Again, this was necessitated because while the Trust had the financial resources to carry out the projects, they lacked the technical knowledge (Husainabad Allied Trust 2012).

Over the years, the Trust has also faced objections from the community. In 2011, the district administration officials, together with Trust staff attempted to remove encroachments from Asafi Imambara, Husainabad Imambara, Husainabad Picture Gallery, Shahnajaf Imambara and Rauza-e-Kazmain. This drive was carried out under orders from the High Court, in response to the Public Interest Litigation (PIL) mentioned in the previous section. However, community members and those who did not wish to vacate the illegally occupied premises spread a rumor that the drive was designed to stop the community from using the structures for religious purposes. This led to violent clashes in the city, prompting the Additional District Magistrate and Secretary of the Husainabad Trust to convene a press conference and clarify their position, and pacify and inform the communities in the area (*Times* News Network 2011d). The encroachments, sadly, still persist.

Jurisdictionally, therefore, the Husainabad historic properties are often in a grey area. Designation by the ASI, ownership by the Trust, religious use by the Shia *Waqf* Board members and the local community allows all the different stakeholders to have a say and influence the way in which any work at properties is carried out. The ASI has for long not interfered in matters not related to properties designated nationally. They are only involved when specifically asked by the Trust or the city administration. The latter agencies lack any expertise in heritage-related issues. This absence of strong legislation enabling a local agency to bridge this gap has consequently become more pronounced.

IN CONCLUSION: THE MANY CHALLENGES OF MANAGING THE HUSAINABAD PRECINCT

Husainabad is a complex landscape that is physically and culturally fragile. This fragility is compounded by its unique administrative and management set up, that has on one hand ensured its continued socio-cultural and religious use, and on the other, contributed to various preservation and management issues. The root of most problems described thus far at Husainabad is the lack of a cohesive local framework for legislation, regulation, implementation and management of such historic precincts.

Of all of the various historic landscapes in the city, the Husainabad area has enjoyed significant preservation efforts over time, matched only perhaps by the continual preservation projects carried out at the Residency complex. Despite such attention, the landscape is today fragmented, fragile and increasingly contested.

Additionally, increasing tourist activity in the area today has reduced it to an economic commodity. The previous section has outlined first, how various stakeholders stake a claim to the properties in the area and second, how those who have legitimate conservation credentials are unable to carry out preservation and maintenance due to a variety of reasons. These reasons range from economic to religious and from legislative to lack of expertise.

The challenges that Husainabad faces are many-fold. The conflicts amongst the stakeholders outlined in the previous sub-section have persisted to present day.

Administratively, the site has an agency (the Husainabad Trust) that owns and operates various aspects of the site elements including benefiting from the revenue generated from ticket-sales. Majority of the properties within the area are also governed by legislation enacted by a national-level agency (the ASI) (Government of India 1958). These two stakeholders have a religiously-backed state-level (Shia *Waqf* Board) organization that claims religious and liturgical rights to the various sites within the precinct. Over the years, problems have arisen when the owner (the Trust) has attempted actions at the site that are in direct contradiction to the rules and guidelines laid out in the federal heritage Act, when the liturgical use warrants an action that goes against the guidelines, and often when the ASI attempts to carry out repair work, or interferes with the site in any way. And because the physical possession of a majority of structures lies with the Trust, the ASI is often powerless to take any action.

To compound matters further, most structures, even though designated, are in some kind of continuous worship, bringing the Shia *Waqf* Board and the larger Shia community into the picture as stakeholders. And, as seen earlier, they often claim a right to not only using the historic sites, but also their administration (by controlling the Trust).

Another point of contestation is that being religiously endowed bodies, both the Trust and Shia *Waqf* Board give their properties out for nominal rent to members of their community, often as an act of charity. Problems arise, when, in addition to the tenants, others also begin to occupy the spaces, eventually leading to deterioration of the

historic built fabric. Again, in this instance, the religious nature of the two agencies and their relationship with the communities results in claim-making to the space that is 'rented'.

Cognitively then, the site has been reduced to a commodity by all of its major stakeholders, useful for the economic gains it produces. For the Archaeological Survey of India, having no stake in the site's revenue is an issue; carrying out the organization's mandate to protect nationally significant "monuments" is no longer enough. For the Husainabad Trust the economic gain from Husainabad's revenue has in recent years become paramount in its dealings with the sites even though it carries out its other charitable duties as well. The Trust's perception of the various sites today is from the point of view of tourism and revenue generation. Preservation and maintenance of the sites are also perceived through a similar economic lens. The religious body, the Shia *Waqf* Board has in recent years also attempted to benefit from the economic gains that the various Shia sites across the state yield. While they have not had much success in Lucknow because of Husainabad Trust's deed document, the Sunni *Waqf* Board has over the years tried to (unsuccessfully) lay claim to the Taj Mahal as a *waqf* property (Press Trust of India 2005b; Press Trust of India 2005a).

Economic use of the historic properties within the heritage landscape has presented itself as a significant source of conflict today. The contested space described thus far has multiple claimants. Because the Trust gains revenue from the ticketing at the site, the ASI would like a share of that revenue, having invested their funding for the

preservation of elements of the site. For example, in the 2010-11 fiscal year, Husainabad had a revenue of 1.68 crore rupees (over $300,000) from ticketing alone. The ASI only gets about 11.7 lakh rupees (over $21,800) from its sole ticketed historic site in Lucknow[63]: The Residency Complex. This immediately creates a fiscal imbalance and seems to force involvement, despite the fact that there is a big difference in the ticket prices.

Additionally, most sites in the landscape are of religious nature and were always intended as such. Exploiting them for the Trust's monetary gain goes against the very idea of cultural heritage, and of that heritage being for the public. Additionally, there is no training and accountability system in place for all the information being put forth as part of marketing for the site. The Trust gains additional revenue from the guides they hire (often without any training). This creates not only a false sense of history but also direct economic exploitation of cultural sites and landscapes. Hence, this commodification of heritage has created a space where all three major stakeholders of the precinct want primacy, and therefore want to control revenue from one of the city's most popular tourist destinations (Khan 2012; Pathak 2012; Mehndi 2012).

In contrast to these stakeholders, the various users of the site(s) perceive them differently. For the visitor/tourist of faiths other than Islam, these sites in Husainabad represent an architectural 'wonder', a visual representation from a past era. For Islamic

[63] Husainabad Trust charges Rs.20 per site, or a combined Rs.50 ticket for 3 sites. ASI on the other hand charges Rs.5 for all its sites across India, unless they are World Heritage Sites.

visitors/tourists in general these sites represent a physical manifestation of their faith. For visitors/pilgrims of the Islamic Shia sect, however, these sites are of paramount importance, especially the mosques and mausoleums. The mosques in particular are a private good, allowing entrance to only the members of the sect. These different perceptions of the sites in Husainabad have over time determined who has access to the sites and how they are used. An example of this is the fact that the Trust regularly rents out the spaces in the outer courtyards of the two Imambaras to not only provide shelter but also for economic gain.

Slightly different to the cognitive perceptions is the issue of traffic management at the site. It has direct implications for the integrity of the historic landscape. While the sites are managed and administered by the Trust, the parking lots and on-street parking are ticketed and maintained by the Lucknow Municipal Corporation, just as it is elsewhere in the city. However, a survey conducted has shown that a majority of the interviewees prefer to either take public transport or walk to reach Husainabad (49% cumulatively, Figure 107), which leaves a lot of room for creating better transit facilities in the area, which can also mitigate the adverse effects on Rumi Gate.

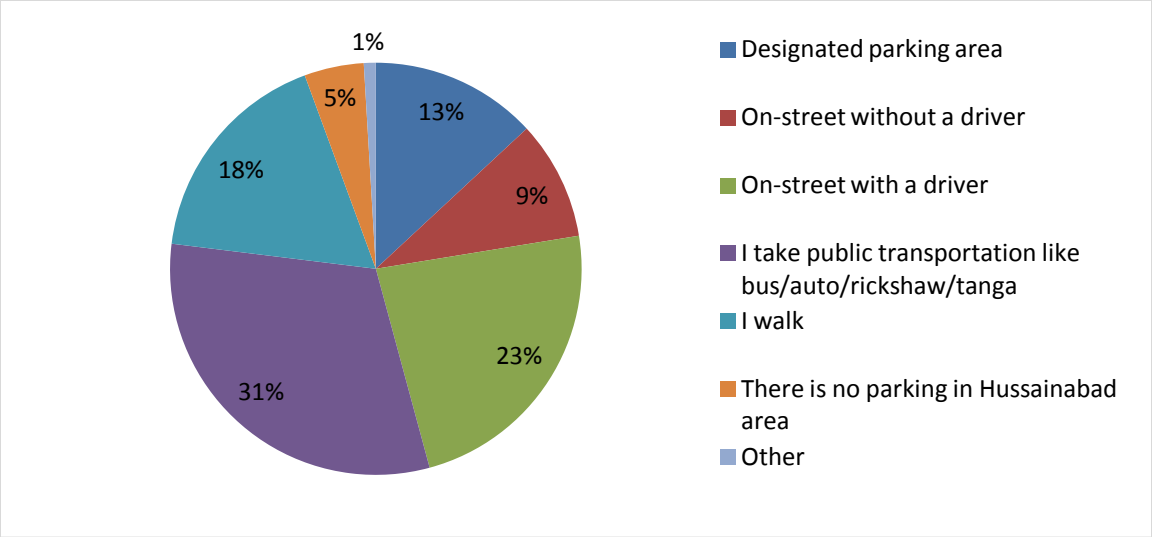

Figure 107: Where do you park your vehicle when you visit Husainabad?
Source: On-site survey, 2012.

Additionally, the historic landscape is bifurcated by the Husainabad Trust Road that was a highway nearly a century ago. Today, it is a city road owing to the development around it. A newer highway elsewhere has a similar destination but this road is used heavily given its location. Since the Public Works Department (PWD) manages all highways in the state, they maintain and repair this road, but it comes under the jurisdiction of the Lucknow Municipal Corporation (LMC), which also maintains and administers city roads. Here, the problem is that this busy road passes through the iconic Rumi Gate, causing cracks to appear in the gateway due to vehicular vibrations. For any repair work to be done on the gate, traffic has to be managed and diverted by either the PWD or LMC under orders from the local government, but they have not taken any action. Bypassing heavy traffic from this area on a more permanent basis is another key action that can help the larger landscape; however the local administration

has so far resisted this move, creating difficulties for the ASI and the Trust (Khan 2012; Pathak 2012; Mehndi 2012). This underscores the lack of cohesive planning and management locally, especially from the point of view of historic areas.

Absence of distinct heritage management also creates issues with policing and enforcement of any existing legislation in historic sites and landscapes. Husainabad as a historic landscape is neither enclosed like Kaiserbagh, nor defined by major vehicular intersections like Hazratganj. The area has existed as an organic, 'traditional' settlement for over two centuries. While nearly fifty percent of people visit Husainabad for tourism purposes, there are a wide variety of other activities that take place daily (Figure 108). Therefore policing and enforcement, as per existing (and rigid) regulations in both the Central Act and the Lucknow Master Plan have proven to be consistently difficult (Mathur 2010a). The ASI, as a federal agency needs the local administration's assistance for enforcement. And, they do not have a local counterpart within the city government. Additionally, akin to other cities, residents in Lucknow need building permits from the Lucknow Development Authority (LDA) for any construction work. Most officers in the LDA, when interviewed, were ignorant of heritage regulations at the federal or local levels (as per the Master Plan). They instead directed me to speak to officers at the ASI, who, according to them were responsible for heritage related matters. This points to a deep disconnect between the stakeholders and the city agencies, and their understanding of existing heritage-related legislation.

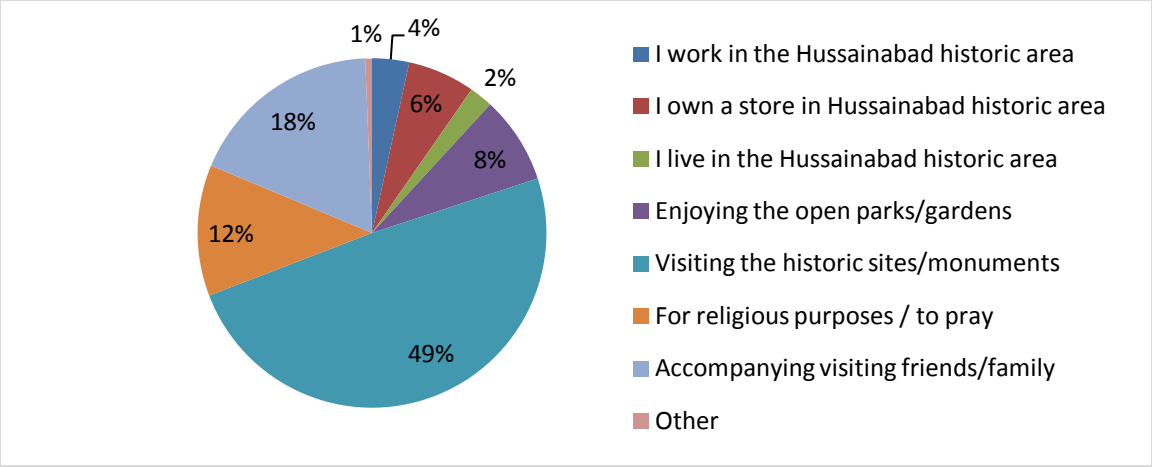

Figure 108: Reasons why respondents visited Husainabad.
Source: On-site survey, 2012.

Last but not the least, the struggle for administration, control and management of the sites through management and control of the Trust is also a continual threat to the future of the historic sites. As outlined earlier, several attempts have been made over time, most significantly, legislative, to wrest the autonomy of the Trust away from its Trustees and into a more "public" domain. As the various branches of government as well as the Shia *Waqf* Board have shown in recent years, no agency is incorruptible. While bringing the Trust's management within the purview of the government, or its Shia community is debatable, it is clear that the Trust does need an overhaul of its management of the sites, especially in terms of their maintenance and preservation. The properties should not be completely dependent on ASI or the State Directorate of Archaeology. Sites need to have in-house expertise on preservation, conservation and urban development to be able to avoid past mistakes as seen at the Clock Tower and Satkhanda, and to ensure Husainabad's sustained future.

CHAPTER 5: HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN LIMBO: KAISERBAGH

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Kaiserbagh is one of the most well-known, primarily residential, historic precincts in the city. The larger neighborhood gets its name from the Kaiserbagh Palace Complex that is a formal, enclosed quadrangular garden-complex (Figure 109) that historically supplemented the existing riverside palace complexes[64] in the city (Hasan 1983; Graff 1997). Today, while the quadrangle is no longer fully enclosed, the remaining three quadrangle walls contain palatial residences housing descendants of landed gentry known colloquially and officially as *taluqdars*[65]. The private residences enclose two large public parks. Institutional and cultural structures like the Amiruddaula Public Library, the Safed Baradari and the Bhatkhande Music Academy (now College) abut the parks and form the core of the precinct (Figure 109). The enclosed character of this precinct has contributed to its relative architectural integrity, especially in comparison to Husainabad and Hazratganj.

[64] The other well-known palace complexes in Lucknow are Macchi Bhawan, Daulat Khana and Chattar Manzil discussed in previous chapters.

[65] Largest landholders holding influence and land a *taluqa* or a *tehsil*. A *tehsil* is a small principality that consists of a city or town that serves as an administrative center, ruling over the remaining towns and villages that come under the *tehsil* or *taluqa*.

Figure 109: Schematic sketch of Kaiserbagh palace complex in 1996 with various buildings and parks. The black blocks denote the walls incorporating the palatial houses.
Source: Office files, ANB Consultants, 2012.

Despite the relatively intact building stock, the Kaiserbagh quadrangle is nevertheless plagued with illegal construction, encroachments and neglect. Over the years, several attempts have been made by the city government to address issues at Kaiserbagh given

its architecturally, socially and culturally unique character. These attempts, coupled with those made by Kaiserbagh's primary stakeholder, the British India Association (BIA), have not been wholly successful. Their limited success over time points to the management challenges seen at Kaiserbagh, arising from competing claims of ownership, administration, jurisdiction and lack of cohesive enforcement of existing regulations. Though these appear to be similar to those described at Husainabad earlier, the nature of the problems as well as the role of the stakeholders is different.

The second section of this chapter introduces Kaiserbagh through a brief historical narrative of its development to illustrate the role Kaiserbagh has played in Lucknow's socio-political history. Third, the precinct's role as a Heritage Zone in the city's Master Plan 2021 is discussed to highlight the dichotomies in administering Kaiserbagh. The fourth section in this chapter introduces issues of administration, ownership, jurisdiction and enforcement at Kaiserbagh first by highlighting the role of the principal stakeholder: the British India Association and various city agencies. Next, a brief historical narrative of the various kinds of conflicts seen at Kaiserbagh is discussed to give context to the next section that deals with a rather protracted revitalization campaign that lasted roughly between 1996 and 2009. Many aspects of the original project were either abandoned or were, as of May 2012, yet to be implemented.

The project of revitalizing the Kaiserbagh Palace Complex began with the best of intentions, backed by political will and an enthusiastic bureaucracy. Along the way, however, it encountered several obstructions, from inter-agency non-cooperation to

issues of legal, social, cultural and religious rights. Research indicates that between 1996 and 2006 numerous meetings between city government officials were held to tackle various aspects of the project and to iron out problems as they arose. This section illustrates that the kinds of challenges first introduced in the previous chapter, involving city officials, private groups and the ASI are seen at Kaiserbagh in a completely different way. The various challenges are cohesively articulated in the last section to highlight the need for a systemic mechanism that would better facilitate processes of managing heritage in future.

5.2. KAISERBAGH: A BRIEF HISTORY

The historic precinct of Kaiserbagh, located in close proximity to Hazratganj (Figure 110), is important in regional and local socio-cultural and political history. The Kaiserbagh Palace Complex was built between 1848 and 1850 by the last Nawab of Oudh[66], Wajid Ali Shah, at an estimated cost of over eighty lakh[67] rupees (roughly $150,000; a significant amount at that time) to house his harem of women (both wives and mistresses) as well as his treasures (Hay 1939; Praveen 2008; Hasan 1983). Its construction and subsequent occupation by one of the most opulent and extravagant Nawabs of Avadh gave the complex a distinctly elite status. Historians believe that the name “Kaiser” came from the popular moniker for its creator (Praveen 2008, 156).

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[66] Oudh was the anglicized version of Avadh or Awadh, used primarily during the Company and Crown rule.

[67] 1 lakh = 1,00,000; Equivalent to one hundred thousand or 0.1 million.

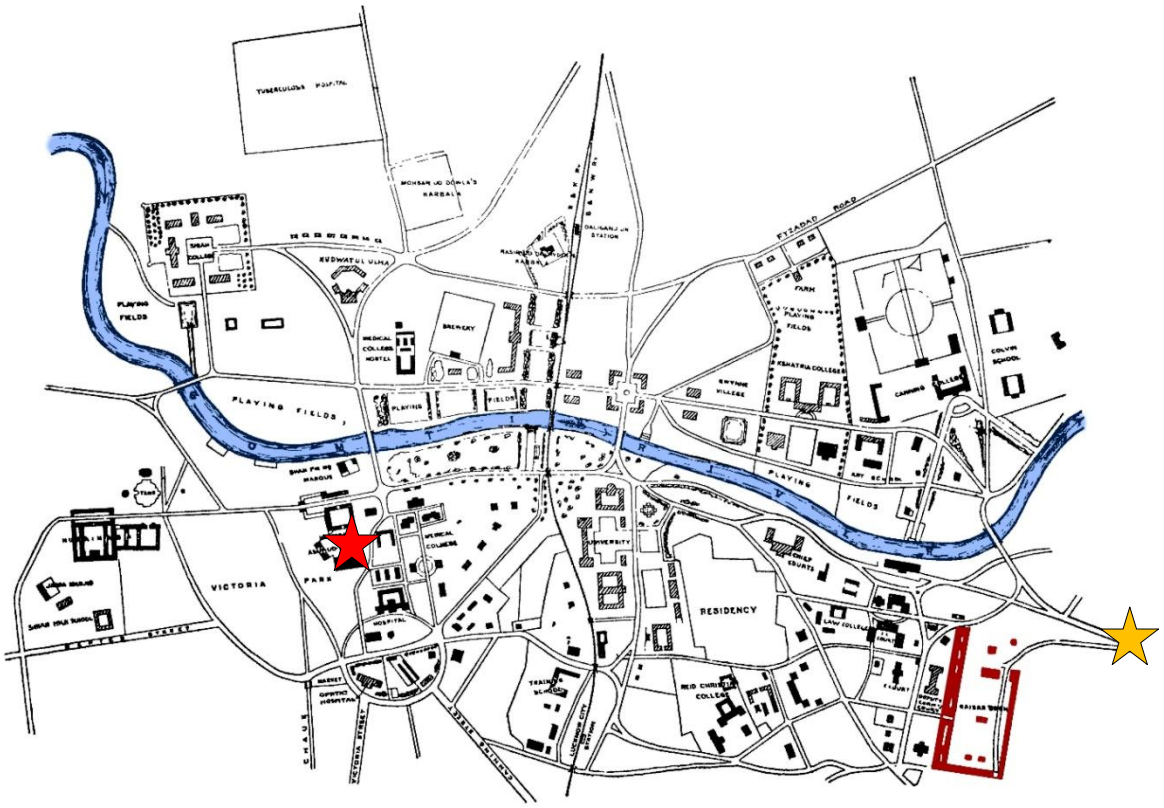

Figure 110: A figure ground of central Lucknow in 1919 with the altered Kaiserbagh palace quadrangle in red. The Asafi Imambara within Husainabad (red star) and Hazratganj road (yellow star) give the site's location relative to the other case studies.
Source: Government of United Provinces. 1918. "Municipal Department File no.500E". Lucknow (India).

This grand neoclassical complex was earlier home to a European "small walled cemetery with stuccoed obelisks to commemorate those who did not return home" (Graff 1997, 54). The quadrangle walls were two-storey high terraced houses, most of which stand today (Graff 1997, 63). In addition to the saffron-colored buildings that formed the quadrangle "walls", the complex included the *Jilaukhana* (the Front Hall),

Jalpari[68] Gate, *Lakhi Gates* (Figure 112 and Figure 113), *Chini Gate* (Figure 114)*, Kilo Khana, Khas Muqam*[69]*, Lanka*[70]*, Badshah Manzil*[71] and *Chandiwali Baradari*[72](Figure 115) (Hasan 1983; Praveen 2008). The Lakhi Gates, an intricate example of the Indo-Saracenic style of architecture were so named because each cost the Nawab one lakh rupees to build.

Figure 111: View of the eastern wall and Lakhi Gate (center) of Kaiserbagh in 1865.
Source: Uttar Pradesh State Museum Photograph Collection, 2004.

[68] Jalpari means 'mermaid' in Hindi.
[69] Khas Muqam means 'Special House' in Hindi. It was name thus because it was the residence of Wajid Ali Shah.
[70] A bridge built over dry land (Llewellyn-Jones 2000, 18), perhaps built as an homage to the bridge to Lanka mentioned in Ramayana, the mythical text of Hindus.
[71] This means 'King's Abode' in Hindi.
[72] Chandiwali Baradari was so called because of its floor of polished silver (Hay 1939, 140). Chandiwali literally translates to "of silver" in Hindi. The building is variously known as Safed (white) Baradari, Kaiserbagh Baradari, and sometimes as *Taluqdars* Hall; according to historians its proper name was *Qasrul Aza* meaning "House of Mourning" (Alkazi Foundation for the Arts 2006, 8).

Figure 112: Eastern Lakhi Gate in 1865.
Source: Uttar Pradesh State Museum Photograph Collection, 2004.

Figure 113: Eastern Lakhi Gate today.
Source: Author, 2012.

The *Safed Baradari* or Kaiserbagh Baradari (Figure 115) was used for *majlis*[73] during *Moharrum*[74]. Located in the center of the quadrangle and surrounded by fountains, canals, marble-canopies and *shahi baithaks*[75], some of which still survive today, this baradari by many accounts was not originally white. The color comes from paint that has been applied over time over the original "reddish brown" stone (Praveen 2008, 156). The building that houses the Bhatkhande Music Academy today was during the Nawabi period known as the *Parikhana* (Praveen 2008, 156). Surrounding the

[73] Majlis in Urdu and Arabic denotes a place of gathering, especially a place of sitting. Used here in an Islamic context, the term is used to describe various types of special gatherings that could be administrative, social or religious in nature.
[74] Islamic day of mourning the passing of the Prophet.
[75] Royal gazebos.

quadrangle were other notable structures[76] from this period: *Kothi Kaiser Pasand, Chaulakhi Kothi, Shahnshah Manzil, Wazir Manzil, Phalak Sair Manzil, Zard Kothi, Nageena wali Baradari* and *Hazrat Bagh* to name a few (Praveen 2008, 156).

Figure 114: Chini Gate, circa 1865 (demolished in 1910).
Source: Uttar Pradesh State Museum Photograph Collection, 2004.

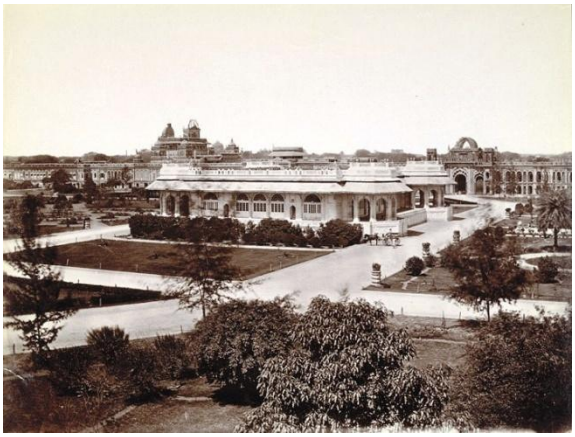

Figure 115: Unknown photographer, *Kaiserbagh Baradari*, photographic print, 1880.
Source: The British Library, http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/k/019pho0000050s2u00120000.html (accessed September 29, 2013).

A few years after it was completed, Kaiserbagh was witness to India's First War of Independence in 1857[77]. The seeds of the conflict had been sown in February 1856 when the British annexed Avadh and the deposed King Wajid Ali Shah left for Calcutta. His household including wives, relatives and servants, initially stayed back at his palaces

[76] Most of these today are either in residential or institutional use or have been renovated or demolished due to a lack of legal protection.
[77] It is also referred to as the Indian Rebellion of 1875, the Great Rebellion, the Indian Mutiny or The Great Indian Mutiny of 1857, the Revolt of 1857, the Uprising of 1857, the Sepoy Rebellion, and the Sepoy Mutiny in Western narratives of Colonial history. Sepoy is the anglicized version of the Hindu word *sipahee*, meaning soldier.

in Kaiserbagh and Dilkusha and came under the purview of the new government's judicial system (Llewellyn-Jones 2000, 132). By December, however, of that year, the British decided to clear away his property from the stores of all his different palaces to erase all reminders of the King's presence in Lucknow and to urge the locals to cooperate with Crown rule. A British officer at that time noted how "the roofs of the Qaiserbagh storerooms were dilapidated and dangerous" (Figure 116) (Llewellyn-Jones 2000, 145). Despite its rather rapid decline, the subterranean cellars of the baradari were used as armories by the forces of Begum Hazrat Mahal against the British during the War in 1857 (Praveen 2008, 156).

Figure 116: General view of Kaiserbagh palace complex in 1858. The devastating effects of the War of 1857 are visible on the buildings.
Source: Uttar Pradesh State Museum Photograph Collection, 2004.

The Kaiserbagh Palace also formed a stronghold for freedom fighters. Unfortunately, Indian and British soldiers looted the site of its valuables (Hay 1939, 143). Historians claim that in June 1857, a Major in the British Army entered Kaiserbagh and seized twenty-two wooden chests of jewels, crowns, gold coins, and a priceless throne "for safe-keeping" to the Residency (Llewellyn-Jones 2000, 145). These of course, were never returned to Lucknow, Avadh or the country again.

A conservative estimate of value of property "seized" from Kaiserbagh by British soldiers and agents was close to 80 lakh rupees[78] at that time (Llewellyn-Jones 2000, 145). That which was looted or stolen by British and Indian soldiers is beyond calculation (Llewellyn-Jones 2000, 6). Once the war was over, the British recognized the dangers of Kaiserbagh's physical advantage as a defensive outpost. Consequently, between 1858 and 1861 they organized large-scale demolitions, reorganized the gardens and built a road that cut across the once-symmetrical palace complex (Alkazi Foundation for the Arts 2006, 8).

5.3. KAISERBAGH TODAY: THE KAISERBAGH HERITAGE ZONE

Today, Kaiserbagh is a mix of cultural, residential and institutional uses. A survey of over six hundred interviewees in 2012 illustrated their wide variety of reasons for visiting Kaiserbagh (Figure 117). The vernacular and eclectic style structures within and outside the quadrangle, in addition to the area's role in the events of 1857, have given

[78] Historian Rosie Llewellyn-Jones estimates this to be about £1,500,000 (Llewellyn-Jones 2000, 6).

Kaiserbagh a distinct architectural and socio-cultural significance. This was recognized by the local government through the creation of the 'Kaiserbagh Heritage Zone' in the Lucknow Master Plans of 2001 and 2021 (Figure 118).

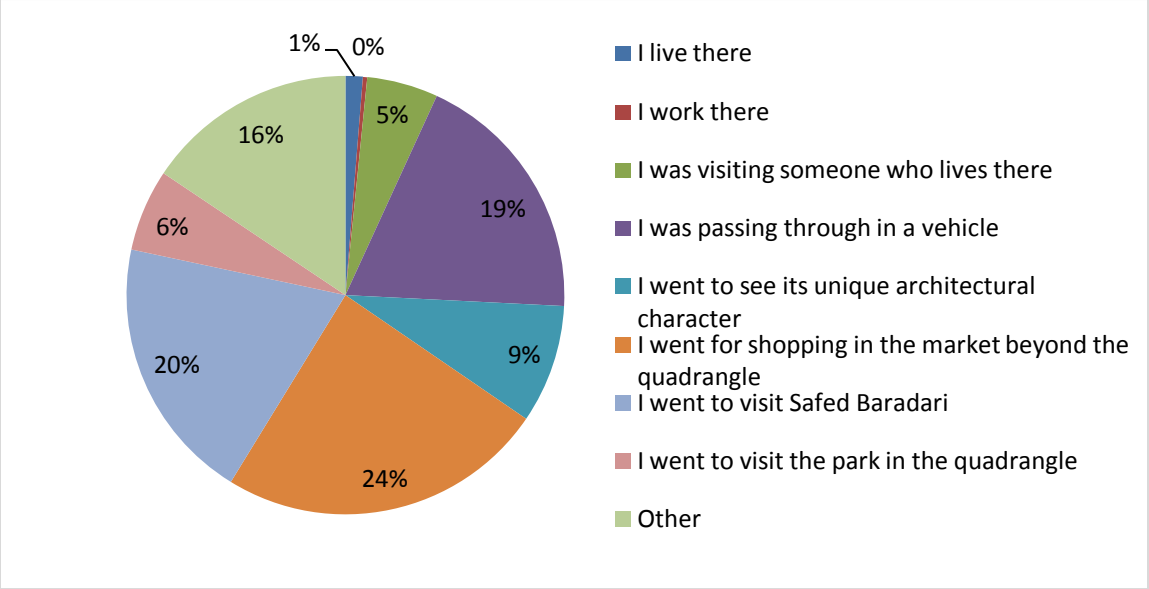

Figure 117: Response to survey question "What is your most common reason for visiting Kaiserbagh?"
Source: Author, 2012.

The previous chapter outlined the deficiencies in the guidelines provided in the Master Plan. The same critique is applicable to the Kaiserbagh Heritage Zone. There is an absence of both the rationale for creating the boundaries for this Zone, and recognition of the properties that contribute to it. Most significantly, while the Amiruddaula Library, the Safed Baradari and the Bhatkhande Music College are all highlighted (in red) in Figure 118 as 'historic' (within the green rectangle), the residences forming the quadrangle 'walls' have been ignored. This unique feature of the quadrangle, comprising palatial living spaces in the form of an enclosure, is architecturally and historically

significant. Their exclusion, therefore, is baffling and unjustified, especially since the entire Heritage Zone gets its name from the Kaiserbagh quadrangle.

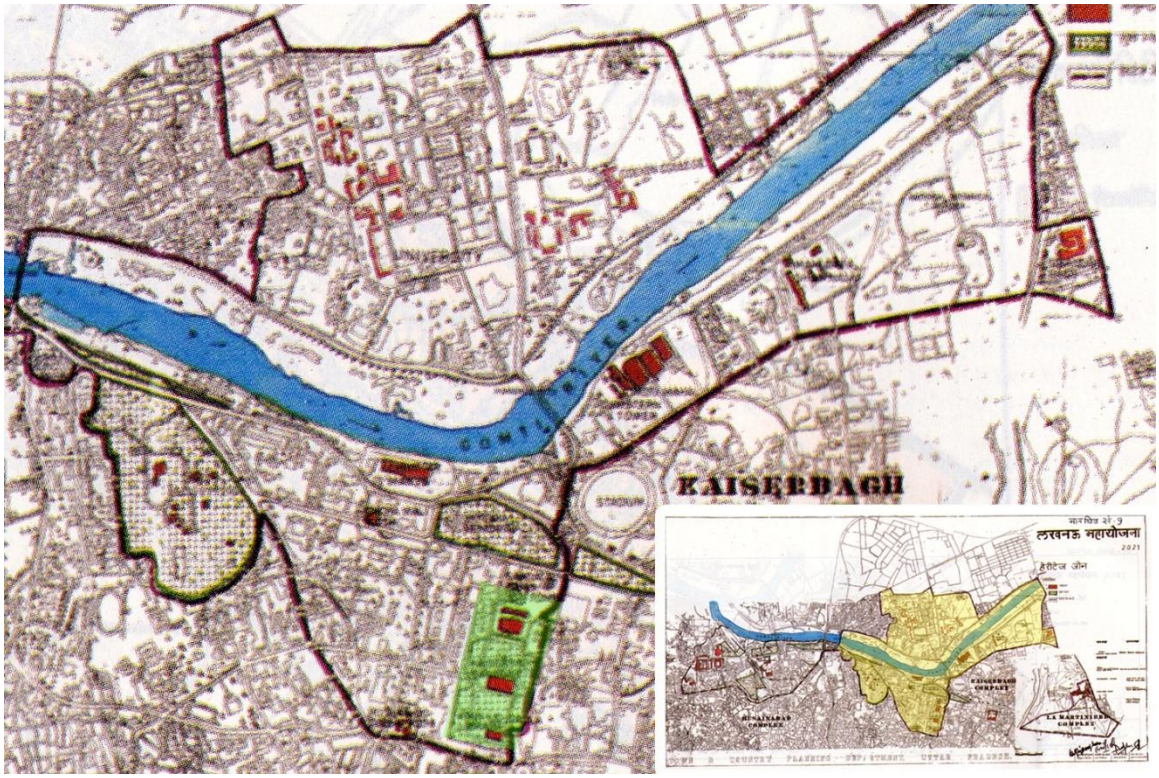

Figure 118: Part of the Heritage Zone Plan (inset) highlighting the Kaiserbagh Heritage Zone as identified in the Lucknow Master Plan 2021. The Kaiserbagh quadrangle (shaded in green) forms a small part of the larger Zone, which incorporates several other sites in the area that are historically and architecturally important (highlighted in solid red).
Source: The Lucknow Master Plan, 2021.

The similarities between Husainabad and Kaiserbagh are few. The issues at Kaiserbagh today differ from those at Husainabad in a variety of ways, despite both areas being 'Heritage Zones'. First, while the ASI has been actively involved in preserving the structures at Husainabad, they have been less involved at Kaiserbagh. This is mainly due to the fact that they have designated only the two Lakhi Gates within the quadrangle, but not the residential structures attached to them (Figure 119, Figure 120, Figure 121 and Figure 123). The ASI also administers the two tombs immediately north of the

quadrangle. Those, however, do not officially come within the quadrangle and are fenced in by the ASI as separate areas. Second, the revitalization project described in the next section was limited only to the quadrangle area, while the larger Heritage Zone did not get similarly treated, or recognized at city government meetings except in passing.

Third, unlike Husainabad and Hazratganj, the Kaiserbagh quadrangle is governed by an unenforced deed document that requires its residents to preserve and maintain their properties. These regulations, however, have been largely unenforced by either the BIA or the Lucknow Development Authority, due to a lack of expertise and guidance for the city agencies and the BIA. The relative lack of involvement by the ASI has also led to neglect and decay in parts of Kaiserbagh. The attempt made in 1996 to address this neglect involved a series of actions and inactions, eventually leading to failure of the project and further highlighting the need for a local mechanism to oversee, administer and manage aspects of historic precincts like Kaiserbagh in Lucknow.

Figure 119: Panoramic view of the Eastern Lakhi Gate with the recent restoration work done on the upper portion of the gateway.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 120: Panoramic view of the residences along Eastern wing of the complex.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 121: Difference in maintenance of Sandila House (Kothi #9) and Kotwara House (Kothi #10).
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 122: Panoramic view of Kaiserbagh road (left) leading to Kaiserbagh Circus (right) which further leads into the busy and popular, commercial (traditional) area of Aminabad.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 123: Panoramic view of the residences along Eastern wing of the complex.
Source: Author, 2013.

5.4. ADMINISTRATION, OWNERSHIP, JURISDICTION AND ENFORCEMENT AT KAISERBAGH

Issues of administration and ownership, and consequently jurisdiction and enforcement at Kaiserbagh are less contentious than at Husainabad. They are, however, more complicated by virtue of the periodic involvement of several city government agencies. Like Husainabad, Kaiserbagh also has a primary stakeholder, the British India Association that owns and administers the quadrangle. This stakeholder's historical and contemporary role is discussed in the first sub-section. The next sub-section briefly introduces the deed document (*sanad*) that was designed to physically and administratively safeguard the quadrangle. However, in over a century of its existence, contraventions have occurred that have had implications for the administration and management of Kaiserbagh. These contraventions and issues are discussed through a historical and contemporary lens. Next, the decade-long revitalization project for Kaiserbagh is discussed from the point of view of issues and problems of administration, management and enforcement to highlight the need for a local heritage management mechanism.

5.4.1. The Owner & Administrator: The British India Association

Brief History

After the conclusion of the War of 1857, the British rapidly realized the social, economic, judicial and military influence wielded by the wealthy landholders of Avadh, the

taluqdars (Graff 1997, 197). In order to cement their relationship with them, the British Government decided to recognize their contribution to the Crown during the war. This recognition involved issuing *sanads* to the *taluqdars* to cement their rights as landowners, introducing the Oudh Encumbered Estates Act[79] and the Court of Wards Act and giving *taluqdars* the rights of ownership and revenue collection (Graff 1997, 197; Freitag 1989, 59). This was important because it allowed the British to lure the *taluqdars* out of their individual geographic strongholds to within the British, urban, political and administrative center of Lucknow. The British were astute in turning the *taluqdars* into "urban elites" by offering to them the use in perpetuity of several of the Nawabi properties that had been vacated after 1857. This ensured the *taluqdars*' support and allegiance, and was most obvious in their grant of the living quarters in the palace complex of Kaiserbagh (Freitag 1989, 59).

[79] This Act helped preserve the results of the *taluqdars*' well-known extravagances (Graff 1997, 197).

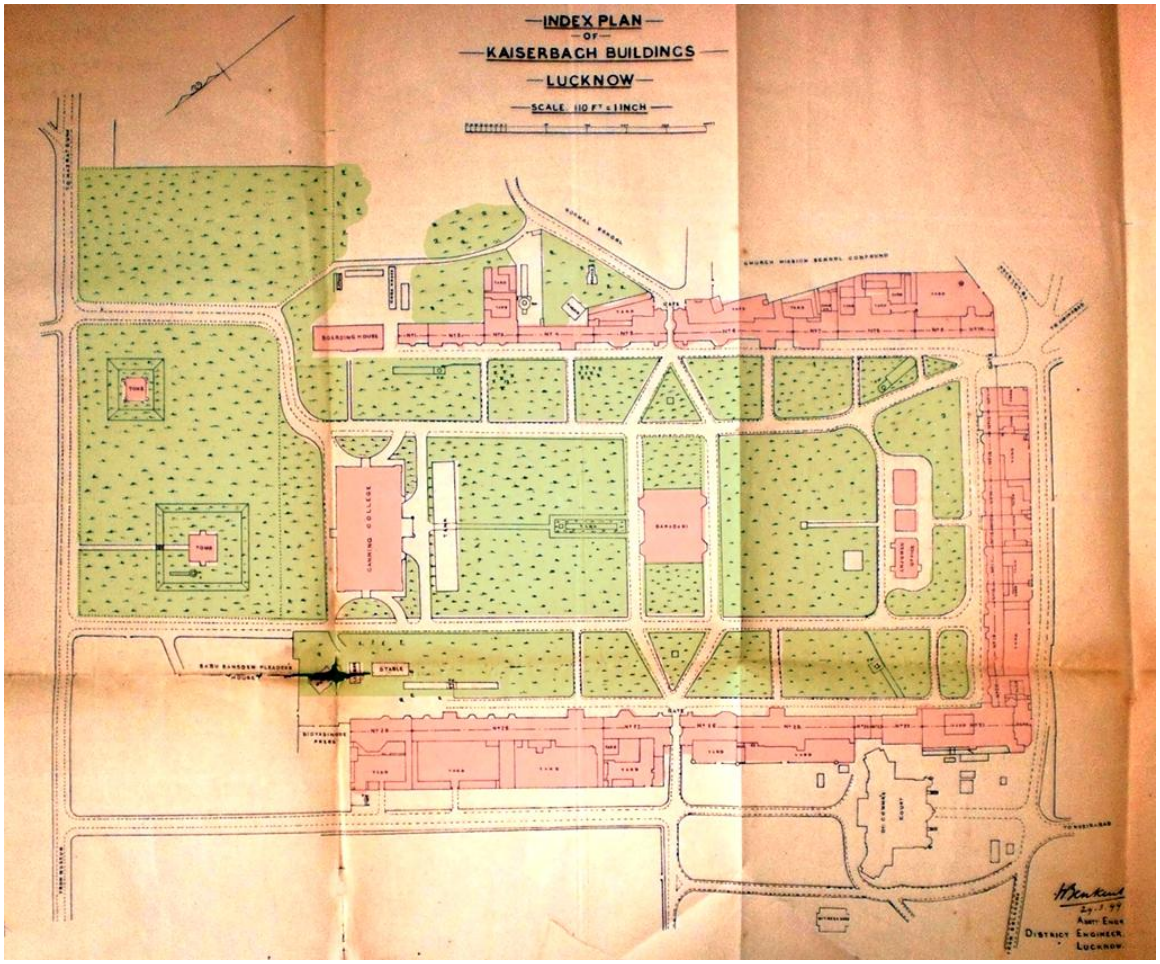

Figure 124: Site plan of Kaiserbagh palace complex in 1894 with various buildings (red) and parks (green). All the residences allotted to *taluqdars* as mentioned later on are numbered in this plan. Source: Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh. 1894. "General Administration Department File No. 378C". Lucknow (India): UP State Archives.

By 1861 the urban presence of landed *taluqdars* of the principalities of Avadh was quite significant. They organized themselves into a registered society under the Societies Registration Act, 1860. This group was called *Anjuman-e-Hind*, or more popularly, the British India Association (BIA). Soon after, on November 5, 1861, the-then Viceroy and

Governor General of India, Lord Canning, held a Durbar[80] at the Lal Baradari (Figure 125, Figure 126), where he pledged to hand over the entire Kaiserbagh Complex to various *taluqdars* of Avadh in recognition of their war efforts. Nearly a year later, on November 2, 1862 the Chief Commissioner of Lucknow completed the transfer of the Kaiserbagh complex to certain *taluqdars* of Avadh. In 1865, the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, under orders from the then Commissioner of Lucknow issued a *sanad*[81] to the *taluqdars,* which gave the houses, buildings and parks within the Kaiserbagh Palace to them in perpetuity under several conditions, described later (BIA Office 2012; Ali 2012a).

Figure 125: Darogha Abbas Ali, *Lal Barradurree*, photographic print, 1874.
Source: The British Library, http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/l/019pho000000988u00032000.html (accessed September 29, 2013).

Figure 126: View of the Lal Baradari, looking toward the right entrance stairway. Today it is the headquarters for the State Lalit Kala Akademi (State Fine Arts Academy) and their Art Galleries and exhibition spaces.
Source: Author, 2013.

By the turn of the century, Avadh had over 250 *taluqdars* who "controlled two-thirds of the territory of Awadh, and realized one-sixth of the total revenues of the UP[82]" (Graff 1997, 197). Much as they had done previously, the British were quick to appease the

[80] Durbar is a Persian term for holding a court.
[81] A *sanad* is a deed document; Refer Appendix E.
[82] Here, UP refers to the United Provinces, which later came to be known as Uttar Pradesh.

taluqdars in all matters of civil and judicial importance, and carefully avoided any conflicts with them (Graff 1997, 198). In fact, *taluqdari* interests held such sway over British decisions that Lucknow fast became the choice for the provincial capital when Allahabad had previously been the government's favorite (Graff 1997, 198).

A similar need for appeasing the *taluqdars* will also be evident in the contemporary narrative of Kaiserbagh's revitalization project. Also, this project was not the only instance of the *taluqdars* attempting to subvert the *sanad.* While many of the 29 properties within the quadrangle enjoy uncomplicated ownership, some have changed owners or residents several *Times* over the years (Table 7).

Table 7: This table lists the various residences within the Kaiserbagh quadrangle, the original owners and current occupants. Entries in red indicate current non-BIA residents of Kaiserbagh. Entries in blue indicate widows of *taluqdars*.
Source: BIA Office, 2012.

Kothi/ House no.	Kothi/House Name	Original Owner	Owner in 1938	Owner as of 2012
1	Payagpur House		Raja Birendra Bikram Singh	Raja Jayendra Bikram Singh
2	BIA Assistant Secretary's Residence	BIA	BIA	BIA
3	Kotra House		Seth Maheshwar Dayal of Daryanagar	Kunwar Nareshwar Dayal Seth
4	Balrampur Hostel	Raja of Balrampur	Maharaja Piteshwar Persad Singh of Balrampur	Lucknow University
5/1	Lala Lajpat Rai Library	Raja of Kapoorthala	Rani Janwanti Kuar of Ramnagar, Singha and Chanda	CB Gupta
5/2		Raja of Kapoorthala	Bahyachandra Dutt Ram of Ramnagar, Singha and Chanda	
5/3		Raja of Kapoorthala	Bahyachandra Dutt Ram of Ramnagar, Singha and Chanda	
6	Lala Lajpat Rai Library	Raja of Kapoorthala	Sir Jagat Jit Singh of Kapoorthala	CB Gupta
7	Mahewa House		Thakurji Indira Bahadur Singh of Mahewa	Kunwar Goklendra Bahadur Singh
8	Mahewa House		Sheikh Abbul Haseen and other heirs of Qamar uzzamani Begum of Nanpara	Kunwar Goklendra Bahadur Singh

9	Mahewa House	Syed Aijaz Rasul of Sandila	Syed Aijaz Rasul of Sandila	Kunwar Goklendra Bahadur Singh
10	Kotwara House		Syed Sajid Hussain of Kotwara	Syed Muzaffar Ali of Kotwara
11	Kohli Residence		Chandhari Akbar Hussain Sahib of Ghazipur	
12	Khare Residence	*Taluqdar* of Sarwan Baragaon	Heirs of Kunwar Jung Bahadur of Sarawan Baragaon; Kunwar Krishna Bahadur	Rented by Ram Bahadur Khare
13			Chaudhuri Mujtaba Hussain of Subeha	*Taluqdar* Jafar Hussain
14	Singhai House		Maharani Surat Kuar of Singhai	Maharani Vibhru Kumari Burman
15	Singhai House		Rani Bhaneshwari Raj Lakshmi Devi of Kuraura	Maharani Vibhru Kumari Burman
16			Rani Man Raj Kuar of Pukhra Ansari	Mool Chand Gupta
17	Mankapur House		Raja Ambakeshwar Pratap Singh of Mankapur	Raja Anand Singh of Mankapur
18	Mankapur House		Raja Ambakeshwar Pratap Singh of Mankapur	Raja Anand Singh of Mankapur
19	Tiloi House		Raja Bahadur Vishwanath Saran Singh of Tiloi	Raja Bahadur Mayankeshwar Saran Singh of Tiloi
20			Lala Prag Narain of Bhajupur	Achal Behari Mehrotra
21	Bilhara House	Part of Mahmudabad Estate	Rani Kaniz Abida of Bilhara	Rented by Mr.Zaidi
22	Bilhara House		Honourable Raja Sir Moti Chand of Benaras; not a *taluqdar*	Rented by Mr.Zaidi
23	CPI Office		Mohd. Yasin Ali Khan of Deogaon	
24	Salimpur House		Mohd. Yasin Ali Khan of Deogaon	Raja Sayed Mohd. Sajjad
25	Salimpur House		Raja Syed Ahmad Ali Khan Alvi of Salimpur	Raja Sayed Mohd. Sajjad of Salimpur
26	Bhatwamau House	Badshah Hussain Khan	Heirs of Raja Sahib Bhatwamau; these heirs were not *taluqdars*	Syed Baqar Imam Kazmi
27	Mahmudabad House		Khan Bahadur Raja Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad	Raja Mohd. Amir Mohd. Khan of Mahmudabad
28	Mahmudabad House		Khan Bahadur Raja Amir Ahmad Khan of Mahmudabad	Raja Mohd. Amir Mohd. Khan of Mahmudabad
29	Oel House		Raja Yuvraj Datt Singh of Oel	On rent by BIA

The British India Association Today

After a twenty-one year period (1861-1882) under the same president, *taluqdars* of different districts have been taking turns spearheading BIA and its various activities for the past 130 years. BIA's membership today is nearly double of what it was in the nineteenth century. Today there are 453 members with an executive committee elected for five years. Its president, vice president, honorary secretary and honorary joint secretary are also elected for the same period from all of the members. The main activities of BIA are charitable, cultural, social and educational (BIA Office 2012).

BIA also continues to be the primary stakeholder for the Kaiserbagh quadrangle. The society claims ownership, trusteeship and management of the area. BIA also owns the Safed Baradari in the center of the quadrangle, a structure that historically was used for a variety of socio-cultural purposes. Today the baradari is used by BIA in a variety of ways: it houses the society's offices, it is used for the society's meetings and it is rented out for various kinds of events such as weddings, parties, fairs and exhibitions (Figure 127), gaining revenue for the use of the large, ornate and historic hall and its larger premises (Bali 2012; BIA Office 2012). BIA also owns the two primary parks within the quadrangle: Butler Park and Raja Rampal Singh Park.

Figure 127: An arts and crafts fair held inside the Kaiserbagh Baradari in February 2012. The baradari frequently plays host to a number of cultural and social events of public and private nature, including weddings.
Source: The Lucknow Society, 2012.

After *zamindari*[83] was abolished in the 1970s and many *taluqdars* lost their primary sources of income, BIA also suffered financially. In 1975 the BIA turned over the maintenance of the parks to the Lucknow Development Authority. By the late 1990s, BIA had sufficiently recouped their financial reserves to send several requests to the city agency to relinquish its maintenance of the parks, dismal as it had been in the twenty years that it had the task (BIA Office 2012). This struggle between the BIA and the LDA for possession of the parks is reflected in the decade-long project described later.

[83] Zamindari was the feudal and hereditary system of landholding and revenue collection in India.

The Safed Baradari

As part of the exercise of transferring property, the British also gifted the structure standing in the middle of the quadrangle: the *Safed* (White) Baradari (Figure 128). This grant was made to the Maharaja Digvijay Singh Bahadur, KCSI[84] of Balrampur, who thereafter held all the rights to the property. He was also the first president of BIA from 1861 to 1882 (BIA Office 2012; Government of United Provinces 1933). On September 19 1902, Maharaja Balrampur's descendent Maharaja Bahadur Sir Bhagwati Prasad Singh[85], in turn, gifted the Baradari to BIA with all the necessary rights, titles and interests for BIA's use, maintenance and repairs.

Figure 128: The Safed Baradari in the center of Kaiserbagh; view from the front court.
Source: Author, 2013.

The Maharaja of Balrampur also provided BIA with a sum of ₹20,000 for reconstructing the baradari's roof which had been damaged during the War of 1857. In the process of repairing it in 1902, the height of the baradari was raised, thus transforming the original

[84] Knight Commander of Order of Star of India, an order founded by Queen Victoria in 1861; KCSI is the mid-level order, preceded by Knight Grand Commander (GCSI) and Companion (CSI).
[85] The fourth President of BIA between 1906 and 1917.

form of the structure (BIA Office 2012). Later this would be one of the biggest arguments used by BIA against any functional restrictions proposed by the government on the baradari. The acts of gifting the baradari and funding its repair, however, were indicative of a distinct desire and respect for a structure that had historical and cultural associations. This legacy of preserving and protecting, however, has been lost over time by many from within this group of *taluqdars* connected with Kaiserbagh.

In 1998 the BIA was faced with a conflict with respect to ownership of the Safed Baradari. At a meeting of an Islamic committee[86] in the city, it was claimed that the Kaiserbagh Baradari belonged to the city's sizeable Shia community because the structure had historically been used by a Shia king (Wajid Ali Shah) for religious activities. The group also sided with the government's push for prohibiting weddings and parties at this site. While the former wanted it for religious purposes, the government's main impetus was historical and cultural (*Jagran* Correspondent 1998c). Eventually, the claim was declared without any legal standing and BIA retained their ownership of the Baradari.

5.4.2. The Legal Document: The *Sanad*

Conditions of the Deed (Sanad)

One of the chief conditions of the *sanad* given to the *taluqdars* was that no *taluqdar* could transfer or sell his/her part of the Kaiserbagh Palace Complex to an individual who

[86] The Muhibbane Ahle Bait Committee.

was not a *taluqdar* or an heir to a *taluqa*[87]. If this condition was not met, or if the property was allowed to get into a state of disrepair, the *sanad* gave the government power to take over the concerned property. In 1927 the city government also passed a set of rules (Appendix F) that reinforced the conditions of the sanad, and clarified that permission had to be sought from the Commissioner of Lucknow to carry out any work in Kaiserbagh. Unsatisfactory work was grounds for resumption of the property by the government.

The conditions of the *sanad*, and the rules of 1927, especially those that focused on owners of properties in Kaiserbagh being bound by law to protect and preserve them, are unique and very important set of documents for managing and preserving historic properties in Kaiserbagh. Unfortunately, both the sanad and the rules are either widely misunderstood or unknown to the current residents. Telephone interviews conducted with twelve residents in 2013 showed that more than half of the interviewees did not know the conditions of the *sanad*, nor had they ever read it.

The conditions of the *sanad* are the only ones of their kind that exist as terms and conditions related to the maintenance of historic structures at the local level in Lucknow, and form an important regulating and enforcement tool. However, lack of manpower to carry out the enforcement by either the BIA or the LDA has over the years led to neglect and willful changes at the site. These also have historical precedents.

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[87] This is also known as *tehsil.* A *tehsil* is a small principality that consists of a city or town that serves as an administrative center, ruling over the remaining towns and villages that come under the *tehsil* or *taluqa*.

Residents of the area have, over time challenged the rules of the deed documents or failed to follow them. It is helpful to briefly understand these before the revitalization project in the next section.

Contraventions of, and Issues with the Sanad Over Time

Kothi no.26: One of the earliest cases of conflict occurred in 1897 when BIA paid the amount of the decree (₹2000) on behalf of the judgment-debtor Sardar Husain Khan, *taluqdar*, in order to save his property, Bhatwamau House[88] (Kothi no. 26) in Kaiserbagh. The decree holder, Ram Saran, tried to sell the house to collect the money owed to him (Government of United Provinces 1914). However, because Kaiserbagh was a Crown Grant, any property within it could not be sold by a decree holder and could only be transferred under the terms laid out in the *sanad* (Government of United Provinces 1914, 14). This case set the precedent for all future Kaiserbagh properties under threat of sale; any such case was henceforth to be brought to the government's notice by BIA (Government of United Provinces 1927).

In September 1916, Bhatwamau House came under the Court of Wards due to the estate's large debts. The total amount of repairs estimated for this estate was ₹4830 with ₹770 already spent on urgent work on the house. The total amount, however, was more than the Board of Revenue could approve, so they suggested that only the most

[88] Records show however, that Sardar's brother Badshah Hussain Khan was the owner of the house, the *sanad* being issued in his name on October 11, 1860.

crucial repairs be made until the estate's finances were sorted (Government of United Provinces 1917). A decade later, the finances of the Bhatwamau estate had still not been resolved and the government proposed to sell the property to Raja of Salimpur for ₹10,000 (Government of United Provinces 1926). Clearly, the government had both an administrative and financial say in Kaiserbagh, despite the ownership enjoyed by the BIA.

In 1928 the veracity of the occupants and alleged descendents of Sardar Hussain Khan came into question, as did the fact of their being bona fide *taluqdars* (Government of United Provinces 1928b). Questions were raised because Sardar Hussain Khan upon his death bequeathed half his property in Kaiserbagh to Kazim Ali Khan (a nephew and not a *taluqdar*) and Raza Hussain Khan (son of his "concubine" and not a *taluqdar*). Sardar Hussain Khan's grandson, Shaikh Ali Imam Khan, a minor whose estate was under the Court of Wards, was his legal heir. The government could not honor Khan's will because none of the beneficiaries were *taluqdars* and thus it violated the terms of the *sanad*. In 1931, Kazim Khan and Raza Khan's claim to the house was rejected by the government because the estate was governed by the custom of lineal primogeniture and none of the claimants were direct descendents (Government of United Provinces 1928b). In April 1935, the grandson, Shaikh Ali Imam Khan instituted a suit on the basis of the general *sanad* to acquire the contested Bhatwamau House; the Raja of Salimpur became a secondary defendant as transferee of part of the house. In June 1936 Shaikh Ali Imam

Khan of Bhatwamau was successfully granted the decree by the court (Government of United Provinces 1933).

Kothi no.8: On June 10 and July 13, 1905 Chaudhri Nusrat Ali, owner of Kothi no. 8 requested the Commissioner of Lucknow to exempt his house from the annual government inspections which would entail maintenance expenditure which he could not afford. He requested this exemption because he had purchased his property[89] from the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow on October 10, 1889 (Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1889). Since Ali's property was purchased and not gifted to him, the Commissioner agreed with Ali and recommended to the Secretary to Government of United Provinces that his inspections be waived unless he neglected to maintain his property (Government of United Provinces 1905a).

In 1916, however, owing to a lapse in communication between BIA and the District Engineer, his house was again put on the list of properties to be internally inspected for repair and maintenance (Government of United Provinces 1917). In 1924, Rani Qamar Zamani Begum expressed a desire to purchase this property. Since she was the wife of the late Raja Mohammad Sadiq Khan of Nanpara and belonged to the Baragaon family, she was deemed a *taluqdar* by the BIA; accordingly Raja Rampal Singh of the BIA approved her request for purchase and inducted her into BIA as a *taluqdar* (Government of United Provinces 1925b).

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[89] At the time of this sale it was a *nazul* property.

Kothi no.22: In 1901, the *taluqdar* of Bhilwal, Chaudhri Shafiq-uz-Zaman Khan, purchased Kothi no. 22 from the *taluqdar* of Saidanpur. By December 1913 however, the *taluqdar* needed to sell the property due to financial problems. The house was taken over by the decree holder Achambit Lal and Kanhaiya Lal in March 1914, with the case pending in court (Government of United Provinces 1914, 13). Meanwhile, the city government wanted to take possession of the house because the *taluqdar* had forfeited it by allowing it to come to sale. However, since the *taluqdar* had not been gifted the property originally, the Legal Remembrancer's opinion was sought by the local government. BIA was also against the sale as it was felt that the sanctity of the complex would be compromised by public sales.

By July 1914, the government was desirous of BIA paying the amount of the decree to Achambit Lal and Kanhaiya Lal to buy back the house for the *taluqdar*'s family and young son to benefit from its rent (Government of United Provinces 1914, 15). The local government, however, was of the opinion that because the *taluqdar*'s estate was bankrupt, his son would never be able to maintain his position once he finished school; therefore the house should be sold outright and the proceeds from the sale could be invested by BIA for the son's future. However, the BIA requested that the house be sold on the same terms and conditions as laid out in the *sanad* (Government of United Provinces 1914, 13). In April 1916, a suitable buyer had been found for the property: The Honourable Babu Moti Chand, C.I.E of Benaras offered ₹10,000 plus transfer charges for the property. Although Babu Moti Chand was not a *taluqdar*, he was an

additional member of BIA and paid all the cesses and rates and was deemed suitable for the sale. The government also agreed with this sale with the condition that all terms of the *sanad* be met by the new owner (Government of United Provinces 1916b). He was sold the property on May 2, 1918 (Government of United Provinces 1927).

Years later Kothi no. 22 again came under conflict. In 1923 Bank of Upper India obtained a decree of mortgage by Shafiq-uz-Zaman Khan, dated prior to when the property was acquired and sold by the government as described above. Mr. Hunter, the liquidator of the bank decided to sell the property in 1927 to realize payment on a mortgage taken out by Shafiq-uz-Zaman Khan (Government of United Provinces 1927). However, since the property was a Crown Grant[90] and had been legally purchased by Babu Moti Chand in 1916, the government declared the mortgage decree void (Government of United Provinces 1927). Yet in early November 1927 the court rejected the title to the house held by Babu Moti Chand; nor did it recognize BIA's right to transfer a property belonging to Shafiq-uz-Zaman Khan. On November 22, 1927 the district judge deferred the hearing for this case for fourteen days (Government of United Provinces 1927). Records for further proceedings are missing, however, eventually Kothi no. 22 became part of the Mahmudabad Estate (Kothis 27 and 28), where the Raja of Mahmudabad's family still resides.

[90] No property under the Crown Grant can be transferred to an individual or group not a *taluqdar*.

Kothi no.21: In 1916 Kothi no. 21 came to the government's notice when the Raja of Bilhara, Abul Hasan Khan, refused to repair and maintain the house because it was assigned to his step-mother, Dowager Rani Ummatul Fatima Begum, under an agreement with the Court of Wards. The District Engineer reported that no repairs or maintenance had been done on the house in five to six years, having received complaints from the Rani. However the agreement clearly stated that the Court of Wards or the ward will always be responsible for the repair and maintenance of the quarters in Kaiserbagh, failing which the property would revert to the government. Therefore before taking possession of the house and evicting the Rani, the government again asked the Raja (as the ward) to repair it. Later that year, under pressure from the government the Raja eventually carried out repairs at the house (Government of United Provinces 1917).

These examples leading up to the 1930s illustrated two important issues that will also have a bearing on Kaiserbagh's contemporary condition. The most common problems seen in the examples above dealt with issues of ownership and maintenance of the residences. Both were in turn tied to the conditions of the *sanad*, which was to be not only upheld and enforced by the BIA, but also the courts. However while attempting to resolve the Bhatwamau House dispute, local government officers found that only three of the residences actually possessed a copy of the *sanad*s for their houses, a significant oversight. It was also said to be the reason why so many residents broke the conditions of the *sanad*, or filed a suit when the conditions of the *sanad* were upheld. Therefore

the Lucknow Improvement Trust (today known as the Lucknow Development Authority) decided to issue fresh *sanads* to the holders of properties in Kaiserbagh (Government of United Provinces 1933). The new grant would function as a "title-deed" for their properties despite many holding the view that continuous occupation for seventy years may be perceived as a title-deed as well (Government of United Provinces 1933).

One criticism of this proposed new *sanad* was that while it dealt with those gardens, lands and rights of way that pertained to particular houses in Kaiserbagh, it failed to take into account other spaces that were within the quadrangle but independent of the private houses (Government of United Provinces 1933). The government feared that this would result in neglect of the latter spaces which would then need to be rescued at the administration's expense. As a result, occupants of the Kaiserbagh residences were made "individually responsible for contributing to BIA for the purpose of maintaining the roads, gardens etc in the quadrangle" (Government of United Provinces 1933). In this instance the local government approached BIA for their opinion on this plan for issuing new deeds. Despite not having the power to implement or enforce the provisions of the scheme, the BIA was fully supportive. They also provided feedback to the government from all but four of the *taluqdars* in Kaiserbagh. BIA also clarified that none of the houses individually owned the gardens; they were owned by the BIA (Government of United Provinces 1933). In 1935, the local government drafted a new agreement document (Appendix K) to be provided to the twenty-six owners and

residents of Kaiserbagh to avoid future legal battles (Government of United Provinces 1933).

The *sanad*s, however, did not prove to be the blanket solution originally envisioned by the administration. Between 1940 and 1942 the government again investigated the non-*taluqdari* occupation of Kothis no.8, 9 and 12. The local government felt that as a non-*taluqdar,* Kunwar Krishna Bahadur of Sandila's occupation of Kothi no.12 was in contravention of the terms of the *sanad*. Eventually, however, it was proved that he was a *taluqdar* and his grandfather had been originally granted the property. Confusion had occurred because he failed to have his name included in the *taluqdars* list maintained by BIA (Government of United Provinces 1933).

In April 1943, the Commissioner of Lucknow, on receiving objections from BIA, requested the Deputy Secretary to the Government of United Provinces to not rent Raja Tiloi's residence in Kaiserbagh to the Additional District Magistrate as it would flout the conditions of the *sanad* and encourage other residents to start renting their properties (Government of United Provinces 1933).

In December 1943, Kaiserbagh's residential occupancy came under threat when the state government requisitioned houses in Kaiserbagh under the Defense of India Act. The President of BIA requested the Chief secretary of the Government of United Provinces to consider the legal precedents of Kaiserbagh, calling to attention that its residents did not have any other homes in Lucknow (Government of United Provinces

1933). However, since the Defense of India Act overrode all existing rules and laws, the state and local governments refused to interfere with the District Magistrate's decision to take over the properties in Kaiserbagh. However, the administration decided to respect the rights of the residing *taluqdars*, and requisitioned only those houses which were not used by the *taluqdars* as permanent residences (Government of United Provinces 1933).

Consequently, in 1944 the PWD was assigned with making annual inspections to keep an eye on any developing encroachments in the area, and to ensure that all the *taluqdars* observed the terms and conditions of the deed (Government of United Provinces 1933). Today the Lucknow Development Authority (LDA) is charged with this task.

The LDA, however, has not been prompt in enforcing the regulations. Issues of encroachments and illegal occupations continue to plague Kaiserbagh. In October 1998, several Kaiserbagh residents were issued notices by LDA. One such occupant, Sunil Kamthan, argued that his family been living across from Amiruddaula Library for at least forty years as tenants of Begum Ejaz Rasool and had invested in additional construction on the property. This, they argued, gave them ownership rights to their home, despite renting the property. They were unaware that the landlady had been flouting the basic criteria of the *sanad* granted to an ancestor of her family. The *sanad* clearly stated that no property in the Kaiserbagh palace area could be rented out to any individual, and was to be only used by the *taluqdars* and their descendants for their personal use (*Jagran* Correspondent 1998b). The family continues to reside in the premises.

LDA has also been faced with land use issues. The Kaiserbagh quadrangle area is not zoned for commercial use but an enterprise called Avadh Service Station had been illegally occupying space within the complex for several years. In fact, they asserted that they were tenants of BIA and paid rent every month; hence LDA had no right to evict them. This was in direct contrast to BIA's own repeated requests to the government to remove encroachments within the area administered by them (*Hindustan* Correspondent 1998). In cases where LDA took action, proprietors of commercial establishments asked LDA for alternative spaces to conduct their business (*Jagran* Correspondent 1998b). This brought up the dichotomy between the applicability of the deed document and the municipal laws at Kaiserbagh.

Another contravention of the *sanad* comes in the form of political parties now using several spaces as offices (Figure 129). In 2000, the LDA served an eviction notice to the Community Party of India (CPI), who ran their office headquarters in one of the houses within the quadrangle (Figure 131). CPI in turn publicly stated that they had legally purchased the building from a Varanasi trader forty-five years ago. CPI also gave the building's role in India's political history as a reason for allowing them to use the space (*Times* News Network 2000b). They also continue to use the property.

Figure 129: The district headquarters for the Samajwadi Party (red & green signage) are housed in the residence immediately adjoining the Eastern Lakhi Gate in direct contravention of the *sanad*.
Source: Author, 2013.


Figure 130: The political party office is located adjacent to the Lakhi Gate.
Source: Author, 2013.


Figure 131: Entrance to the residence housing the CPI office.
Source: Author, 2013.

In 2003, the Bhatwamau House again came under scrutiny when one of its residents, Baqar Imam[91], demolished a section of the residence (Figure 132), citing a permission letter granted to him by the Director General of the ASI (who functions from the agency's headquarters in New Delhi). The demolition was carried out in order to make way for new construction. The local ASI Circle officers, therefore were rendered helpless, despite the demolition and new construction being within 100m of the Lakhi Gate (HT Correspondent 2003a; HT Correspondent 2003b). The veracity of the permission from New Delhi has never been questioned, despite the irreparable damage done to the residence. However, in January 2004 LDA officials demolished the structure being constructed by Imam during a demolition drive (Figure 133) conducted within Kaiserbagh (*Times* News Network 2004b).

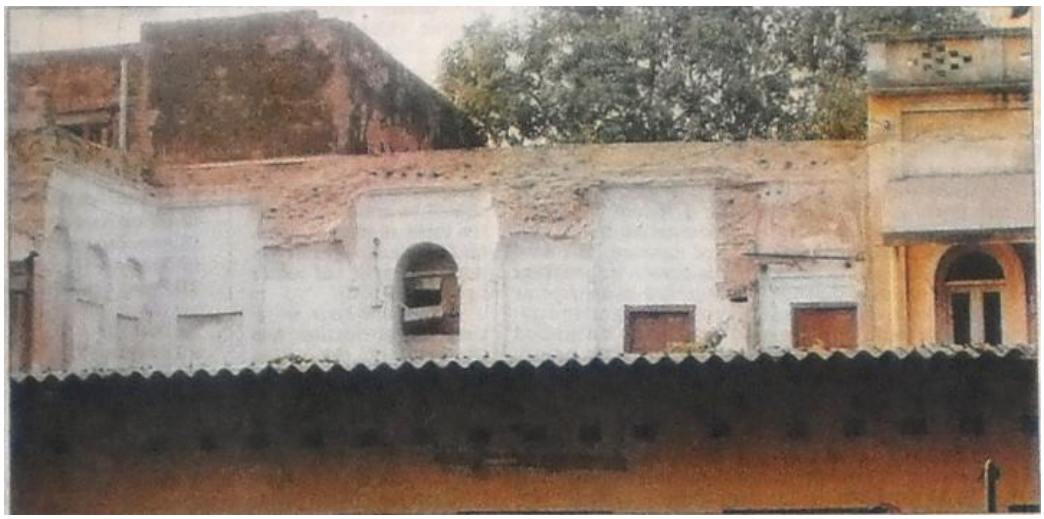

Figure 132: Sections of Bhatwamau House demolished by its resident.
Source: *Hindustan Times*, 2003

[91] The issue in this case again related to the criteria laid down in the *sanad*; Bhatwamau House is owned by S Haider Imam, Baqar Imam's brother, who lives in the UK (HT Correspondent 2003b).

Figure 133: Rubble and debris as a result of the anti-encroachment drive in Kaiserbagh by LDA. Source: *Times of India*, 2004

Figure 134: A kothi within the complex in ruins. Source: Author, 2013.

In September 2004, the BIA was faced with the challenge of enforcing the conditions of the *sanad* at Salimpur House. The resident of the house was raising poultry and selling eggs from her garden, an activity that was against the *sanad* and the bylaws for Kaiserbagh. In this case, although the LDA was technically responsible for enforcement, they placed the onus for stopping the commercial activity on BIA (BIA Office 2012). BIA, sent a letter on September 20, 2004 to the resident, Rajkumari Noor-uz-Zuha of Salimpur House to warn her of impending demolition by LDA if she did not remove the hen houses from the property and stop the commercial activity (BIA Office 2012). The resident finally complied under threat of eviction by the BIA. Today however, a construction company is advertised outside the premises (Figure 135).

By 2004 the quadrangle area was also overrun with encroachments, especially with the development of an illegal bus stand on the road between Begum Hazrat Mahal Park and Saadat Ali's Tomb. As a consequence of the buses, the area soon became home to

several tea shops and illegal encroachments serving the buses and taxis parked there illegally. While there was a lull in dealing with encroachments in the intervening years, in 2010 a motor garage near was removed near Kotwara house but it soon came back after some time (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010a).

Figure 135: A sign indicating that Salimpur (Saleempur) House is home to a construction company. Source: Author, 2013.

This array of contraventions of the *sanad* over such a long period of time highlight a significant lapse not only of enforcement but also of the BIA and LDA's failure to ensure that residents are aware and comply with the conditions of the *sanad* and local bylaws. The situation has been exacerbated over time by the relative ignorance of the residents of the historic, social, cultural and architectural significance of their residences. This has

led to not only the contraventions of regulations described thus far, but also of protests against any involvement of the city government in improving and enhancing their built environment. Nowhere was this more evident as during the revitalization project carried out at Kaiserbagh.

5.4.3. The Problem of Administration, Jurisdiction and Enforcement

Contemporary heritage management at Kaiserbagh involves three major stakeholders: the British India Association (representing the residents), the Lucknow Development Authority and the ASI (primarily in the context of the Lakhi Gates[92]). In addition to these there are several other city and state government agencies that are periodically involved with projects at Kaiserbagh. The extent and nature of their involvement, however, depends on the project to be executed.

While the *sanad*-related conflicts described in the previous sub-section continue today, the main problems facing Kaiserbagh are today of jurisdiction and enforcement of terms of the *sanad*, heritage legislation and local bylaws. Issues of administration and management arise as a consequence. The project described next exemplifies many of these challenges over a thirteen year period.

[92] The ASI also has jurisdiction over the two mausoleum structures 7A and 7B indicated in Figure 109.

Timeline of the Kaiserbagh Revitalization Project, 1996-2009

In 1996, one of the most long-standing and controversial revitalization projects began at Kaiserbagh. Seeds of the project were sown when the-then Chief minister of Uttar Pradesh ordered all city parks and historic structures within Heritage Zones to be "beautified" in anticipation of the Lucknow *Mahotsav*[93] (BIA Office 2012). This was a major motivator for a sudden focus on development of Kaiserbagh's historic areas and gardens. Until then the precinct had been largely ignored by city agencies, despite it being LDA's task to periodically inspect the Kaiserbagh quadrangle for compliance with the *sanad* terms.

The Department of Tourism of Uttar Pradesh was the lead agency for the project. They in turn hired INTACH[94] as consultants to prepare a detailed Heritage Master Plan for the Kaiserbagh Palace Complex (quadrangle, Figure 136). On the face of it, the project had a lot of promise. A series of missteps, protests and litigations, however, contributed to not only the project being eventually severely altered but also delayed. The project also highlighted several gaps in the way in which heritage properties are managed in Lucknow. The Kaiserbagh Heritage Zone Notification from 1998 is detailed in Appendix H.

[93] The annual Lucknow Festival is held to celebrate culture, arts, crafts and cuisine of the city
[94] The Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage.

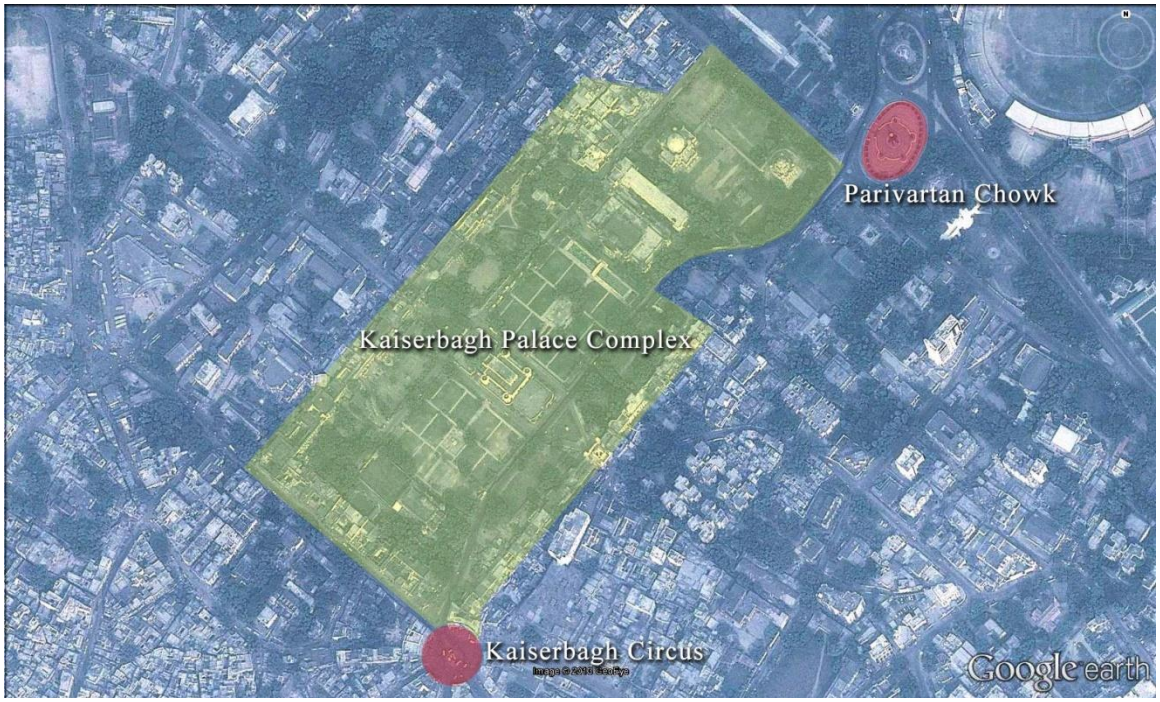

Figure 136: Approximate area of the project, between Parivartan Chowk and Kaiserbagh Circus. Source: Google Earth, 2013.

In July 1996 INTACH engaged the services of the conservation and architectural firm of ANB Consultants to conduct surveys and documentation for the project that they titled the "Kaiserbagh Revitalization Project" (Asheesh Srivastava 2012a; Asheesh Srivastava 2012b). LDA was assigned the task of executing the INTACH-designed development and beautification projects in July 1996 (BIA Office 2012). Minutes of a government meeting held on July 20, 1996 outlined the various proposed changes to the area, including enclosing the area around Saadat Ali Khan's Tomb with railings and hedges, repairing and extensively redesigning the landscape of Butler Park and Raja Rampal Singh Park[95]

[95]This is also referred to as the Gulab Vatika (Rose Garden).

(Figure 137), repair and cleanup of the park behind the Baradari, and improving the entrance area at the Residency (BIA Office 2012).

Figure 137: View of Raja Rampal Singh Park from the Baradari platform with part of the Amiruddaula Library visible in the background.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

In addition, in December 1996, the Department of Tourism asked the LDA to prepare a report on the proposed tasks for the Heritage Zone and to formulate model bylaws for Kaiserbagh so that construction and development works in the area could be regulated and illegal construction and encroachments could be stopped or removed (BIA Office 2012). LDA, already in-charge of managing the city's urban development, did not have the staff equipped to create such bylaws. As a result, they were never created.

After months of deliberations between the local government agencies and INTACH, the project began to take shape. In July 1997, INTACH, through its consultant Conservation Architect, proposed to remove the roads crossing through the Kaiserbagh Complex, especially those that did not exist before the war of 1857, and to regulate all heavy vehicles through the gates and the roads. Attention was also drawn to the rampant

encroachments within the complex that had been discussed at an earlier meeting but not acted upon. INTACH also raised several other issues and questions regarding LMC's garbage disposal and drainage maintenance practices. Other items under discussion included the need for a visitor center in the area, redesign of the park landscapes as they existed during the Kaiserbagh Palace Complex's period of significance and the possibility of private companies taking over the maintenance and upkeep of these redesigned parks. The residents of Kaiserbagh, or the BIA, however were not included in this dialogue.

Only over one year after the project's conception did the participating local and state officials finally decide to include the BIA in the decision-making, primarily to confirm and sort out ownership issues (Asheesh Srivastava 2012a). This proved to be problematic later on because BIA owned and administered most of the buildings and parks within the Kaiserbagh quadrangle. The LDA merely maintained the parks but did not have proprietary rights to them. The various city agencies, however, had until then proceeded as though the city owned the properties.

Consequently it was not surprising that conflicts arose regarding ownership of the land, especially with regard to private versus public rights. BIA claimed complete ownership of the thirty acre area whereas the government claimed that BIA was merely a custodial group and the land was owned by the government. This was in direct contradiction of the *sanad*, which had escaped the notice of the administration up to that time. On April 2, 1953 a copy of the *sanad* had also been obtained from the district and sessions judge

court bearing the declaration to that effect by the then Chief Commissioner of Oudh[96], Charles John Wingfield (*Times* News Network 2000a; R. Sinha 2000; *Jagran* Correspondent 2000). Yet, BIA disagreed, and objected to many government proposals regarding restricted use of the historic baradari and parks, especially the proposed acquisition of parts of the lawns abutting the quadrangle residences, which would be reorganized and included within the core area that was to be redesigned (Bali 2012; Ali 2012b).

Two years after it was first discussed, the issue of encroachments was again raised at a meeting in June 1998. The LDA, the LMC and the district administration were asked to remove all encroachments within the Kaiserbagh complex and the ASI-protected Lakhi Gates. Other works were again distributed amongst the agencies: the development of parks with LDA; construction of bollards; road access; drainage and garbage collection by LMC; the parks officer was asked to prepare a list of appropriate foliage for the area; and rerouting traffic was handled by the Superintendent of Police (Traffic) (Asheesh Srivastava 2012a; *Jagran* Correspondent 1998a; City Correspondent 1998b).

Towards the end of 1998, INTACH's months-long endeavor to get their scheme approved succeeded. The project, spanning the area between the Parivartan Chowk and Kaiserbagh Circus (Figure 136) was approved by the city government with the aim to making the Kaiserbagh quadrangle a tourist attraction. The entire project, as conceived

[96] Oudh is the anglicized version of Avadh/Awadh.

in 1996 had been sent to the government for approval in October 1998 for a total cost of 1.98 crore rupees, incorporating the alterations to suit BIA's objections. Work was to begin in the new year and expected to run for about eight months (*Times* News Network 1998b). An approved part of the project also included adaptive reuse of a part of Amiruddaula Library for an arts and crafts centre (City Correspondent 1998c; *Times* News Network 1998a). The project got added impetus in 1998, when the-then Commissioner of Lucknow, decided to honor Kaiserbagh's role in the freedom struggle for India's fiftieth Independence Day celebrations (HT Correspondent 2002; *Jagran* Correspondent 1998a; City Correspondent 1998b).

In August 2000, the city government went ahead with its plans to develop the whole area, including adjoining areas such as the open land next to Khurshidzadi's Tomb and Begum Hazrat Mahal Park as part of the larger Heritage Zone development program. This project suggested using the land for craft-related activities to promote original crafts of Lucknow and the Avadh region. During this period, however, LDA had still not made satisfactory progress in implementing its projects, despite having been provided funding in 1998 (Verma 2000). By January and February of 2001 the Joint Director of Department of Tourism instructed all participating local agencies to put all the plans and decisions into effect. These included closing of four smaller roads, creation of parking for Amiruddaula Library and redesigning the landscaped areas where encroachments were removed (Asheesh Srivastava 2012a). This was a short-lived initiative, however, as work was again halted in July 2001 when a contempt petition was filed by BIA against

the government agencies, citing violation of the court order that stayed any development work at Kaiserbagh (BIA Office 2012).

Finally, later that year a draft of the Heritage Zone plan was prepared keeping in mind the different objections raised by BIA. An open air *Vivah Mandap*[97] was proposed on Raja Amjad Ali Khan Road as a compromise for restricting the use of the Safed Baradari. Its proposal included local architectural elements to allow the structure to blend with its surroundings. The new proposal sought to demolish the kitchen, servant quarters and boundary wall behind the Baradari to restore the structure to its 1857-1902 period of significance. The kitchen in the Baradari would be replaced by a pantry to reduce damage to the historic structure. The construction costs for this addition were to be borne by the BIA (Staff Reporter 2001).

In mid-2002 after another stay order from the High Court, work came to a standstill. Apart from the installation of new railings around the two parks and the blocking off of one road, no other major change was seen at the complex. In fact, by this time all the delays and court wrangles had resulted in none of the major aspects of the project being implemented. These had included "special lighting, reconstruction of the marble bridge, construction of fountains and waterfalls, (and) revamping of parks and removing of encroachments" (Seth 2002). By 2003 BIA was still displeased with the city government's arbitrary actions at Kaiserbagh. The repair and upgrade work on the

[97] Marriage Pavilion.

sewer system in the area, however, carried on as it was funded by the local Member of Legislative Assembly's (MLA)[98] fund instead of the state or city government (BIA Office 2012).

In order to bring a resolution to the "status quo" at Kaiserbagh, the District Magistrate convened a meeting on January 28, 2003. This meeting, unlike others, included several BIA members in addition to representatives from different government agencies. During the meeting, BIA agreed with several suggestions made by the participating officers: development and redesigning the landscapes of Butler and Raja Rampal Singh Parks; removal of encroachments from the Heritage Zone, solution to water logging, construction of new sewer system and rainwater harvesting system; and construction of a thirty-three KVA substation for uninterrupted electricity. Additionally, BIA requested government agencies to commission a sound engineer to inspect the Baradari for sound proofing, and sought permission to construct a community center behind the Amiruddaula library. The Kaiserbagh Heritage Zone's work began in earnest after a compromise was reached with BIA in February (Asheesh Srivastava 2012a).

In 2004, Kaiserbagh was also affected by the Public Interest Litigation (PIL) mentioned in connection to Husainabad in the previous chapter. Early that year two judges from the Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court noted that even though Kaiserbagh was managed by the BIA, it had seen a lot of demolitions, alterations and new construction.

[98] A Member of Legislative Assembly is the state-level counterpart to an MP, a Member of Parliament at the central level.

The Court asked that the Heritage Zone be restored to what it was and that all violations be removed (*Times* News Network 2004a). At this stage, eight years had passed and most of the original project was yet to be implemented, in addition to the High Court's directive.

By August 10, 2004, several projects were underway with the government having received approval from BIA for the development and maintenance of Butler Park and Sir Raja Rampal Singh Park. Yet, after several years of repeated attempts, encroachments in the area still persisted. No progress had been made, however, in repairing the sewer system, construction of an electric substation, sound-proofing the Baradari and construction of a community center. The BIA also repeatedly requested the government to return the landscape furniture removed from the parks (BIA Office 2012). Taking note of lax implementation, the LDA was asked by the city administration in August 2004 to expedite plans for the community center. LDA was also reprimanded for the construction of two incongruous toilet structures in the two parks (BIA Office 2012).

Nearly a year later, some progress had been made. At a meeting held on August 3, 2005 by the Commissioner of Lucknow, the multi-agency problem was again brought to light. LDA had not taken any action regarding the community center to be constructed behind Amiruddaula Library even though the BIA had already provided the design. LDA in turn

had not passed the plan because ASI had not given their approval[99]. On the other hand, several years had passed and nothing had been done to stem the flow of heavy vehicles in the area. The Superintendent of Police (Traffic) at this juncture suggested the use of height restriction barriers at both ends of the entrance roads to deter buses and trucks from entering the area. This was, however, never implemented. BIA had also issued a no objection certificate (NOC) for the development and landscape redesign work to commence at Butler and Raja Rampal Singh Parks (BIA Office 2012).

In a situation symptomatic of such areas, by 2005 encroachers returned to the few areas from which they had been removed; in fact they broke the newly installed railings to set up their shelters again. Projects involving the construction of rainwater harvesting system, and water logging due to defunct sewer lines were still an issue. The bus and car stand near Saadat Ali Khan's Tomb had been removed but the autos and trucks persisted; the garbage still was not collected on time. Neither had the railings, marble antiques and sign boards been returned to BIA, having been removed from Butler and Raja Rampal Singh Parks many months ago. In addition, the Lucknow Electricity Supply Administration (LESA) needed more land to construct the electric substation as the land provided was inadequate in size, further delaying the project (BIA Office 2012).

Months later, at a meeting held on January 6, 2006, LDA was still awaiting a No Objection Certificate from ASI to proceed with the community center design. The

[99] ASI's approval was needed because the structure was within 100m of the centrally protected Lakhi Gates.

Superintendent of Police (Traffic), however, made progress in stopping heavy vehicles passing through the Palace Complex: only those serving the area were allowed to pass. The Uttar Pradesh Jal Nigam[100] (UPJN), finally drafted a plan for repairing and renovating the sewer lines and water supply in the area (BIA Office 2012).

However, later that year the local administration, under a new Commissioner, asked LDA to prepare a new plan for Kaiserbagh (*Jagran* Correspondent 2006), ten years after the project had initially begun because many of the initial problems still prevailed. This time, however, the Commissioner asked BIA to submit a new plan for the extension of the Safed Baradari for LDA's approval (*Pioneer* News Service 2006).

Over three years later, work was still in progress. Administrative efforts were made in August 2009 to reduce congestion in the area by moving the highly popular Kaiserbagh Bus Station to a location on the city's periphery. LDA, who prepared this plan, proposed to create parking lots on the site for two and four-wheelers (*Times of India* 2009). The bus station, however, was not moved and still functions as a major transportation node today.

In October, 2010 the Department of Tourism again expressed an interest in bringing Kaiserbagh actively within Lucknow's tourism circuit by asking consultant Debashish Nayak to design a heritage walk in the area from General-wali Kothi to Roshan-ud-daula Kothi (Mathur 2010c). This project is yet to be implemented. Additionally, many aspects

[100] UPJN is the state corporation dealing with water supply and drainage.

of repairing the parks, roads, lighting were all left incomplete because of objections from local residents (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010a).

Today, the Kaiserbagh Palace Complex has come full-circle. The parks are sporadically maintained; railings and marble structures added in the last decade are in ruin; and the baradari still hosts public and private events. Many residents have continued to either neglect their properties or have demolished them in favor of newer construction. Encroachments are as prevalent as before, and many residents are still oblivious to their responsibility towards stewardship of their homes and immediate environs. This process of urban revitalization and its relative failure lasting over a decade can be analyzed through several lenses that highlight not only past mistakes but potential for better management in the future.

Figure 138: Current dilapidated condition of the railings, parks and marble structures within the parks in Kaiserbagh.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

Figure 139: Several changes have been made to Salimpur House over time, most not in keeping with the architectural character of the quadrangle.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 140: The original structure (left), neglected and ruinous residence in the middle, and a newer addition on the right show how the architectural vocabulary and integrity have changed over time.
Source: Author, 2013.

Summary of Problems in Revitalizing the Kaiserbagh Heritage Zone

Several problems have manifested themselves at Kaiserbagh over time, made more prominent during the long revitalization project carried out by the city government. First, excluding the BIA, the primary stakeholder and representative of the area's

residents, from the initial and subsequent meetings and decisions was a significant oversight. It led to a trust-deficit between BIA and the city government, eventually forcing BIA to take legal action against them and causing significant delays in the revitalization project.

Second, the project brought to the fore, competing claims of ownership that had plagued Kaiserbagh over the years. BIA's ownership was challenged not only by city agencies like the Lucknow Development Authority (LDA) but also by religious groups especially in light of the publicity generated by the revitalization project. Consequently BIA had to repeatedly prove ownership. They were also compelled to protest against infringement on the rights of the residents by the LDA. This also had precedent: in 1938, BIA had to furnish the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow with a copy of the deed for the Baradari to prove their ownership and avoid a government takeover (Government of United Provinces 1933).

Third, similar to the project at Hazratganj discussed in the next chapter, the project plan had no provisions for the future maintenance and management of the area revitalized through the project. This concern was shared by the BIA, especially considering the years of neglect shown by the LDA at the two parks in Kaiserbagh (Atul Srivastava 1998). The BIA had leased Butler Park and Raja Rampal Singh Park to LDA in 1975 for maintenance and upkeep (Rani 1998; BIA Office 2012) and had been asking LDA to hand over the parks since 1994 (*Hindustan* Correspondent 1998). However, BIA was equally guilty of neglecting the parks prior to 1975. Where Raja Rampal Singh Park (Gulab

Vatika) had previously been a beautiful historic rose garden, by 1998 it was little more than a garbage dump, occasionally playing host to Midnight Bazaars and Handloom Expositions. Caught between BIA and LDA's struggle for control, these historical parks were in stark contrast to the then-newly-constructed and pristine memorials and parks elsewhere in the city (City Correspondent 1998a). Today, however, the parks are maintained more frequently and continue to be under the administration of the LDA (Figure 141).

Figure 141: A large sign installed in the Raja Ram Pal Singh Park today announces the involvement of the Lucknow Development Authority.
Source: Author, 2013.

Fourth, several proposed restrictions by the city agencies prompted the BIA to seek assistance from the High Court (Sahara News 1998; Staff Reporter 1998; BIA Office

2012). One of the major reasons was the decision to restrict the use of the Baradari[101] and reorganization of the main roads running through the quadrangle, thereby affecting the BIA's principal source of revenue (Asheesh Srivastava 2012a). This was proposed because of the view that the Baradari, as a historic structure within the Heritage Zone could not be put to commercial use.

The Master Plan, however, does not have regulations specifying restrictions on use. The BIA's objections were therefore justified, especially since the Baradari had been used for a variety of functions for over a century (BIA Office 2012; Asheesh Srivastava 2012a). In 2002, however, a compromise was reached. Joint decisions were made to remove the Baradari's boundary wall and replace it with a railing, to stop traffic on the two roads abutting the Baradari and to construct a parking lot. A major result of the compromise was the restricted use of the Baradari to only art, culture, dance, music and folk related programs, to avoid damages to the structure from cooking activities. This solution would stop abuse of the historic structure and also assist BIA with its revenue from weddings and parties held at a new structure to be constructed close by (Asheesh Srivastava 2012a; City Correspondent 2002). The community center, however, had not

[101] Renting out the Baradari is a primary source of income for the BIA. Consequently BIA repeatedly opposed any restrictions on the use of the Baradari. However, recognizing the damage to the structure from such events, BIA acknowledged that they would prohibit the use of coal and wood for cooking, instead restricting catering to either cooked food or making use of cooking gas. Keeping this objective in mind BIA wanted to continue maintaining and managing the parks and baradari. They claimed that the Baradari was no longer historic as it had been modified since its construction (BIA Office 2012; HT Correspondent 1998; City Correspondent 1998d; Staff Reporter 1998). The BIA, therefore displayed ignorance of heritage conventions that accept changes over time as part of a structure's lifecycle. In the case of the Baradari, the changes were nearly a century old and in 2002 the building became eligible to be considered for historic designation (City Correspondent 1999).

been built as of May 2012 and the parks are sporadically maintained. And despite the compromise reached earlier, Kaiserbagh Baradari continues to have private parties and weddings in addition to cultural events (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010a).

Fifth, the project highlighted how creation of inter-departmental committees was not a sustainable solution to the problem of heritage administration and management. The various committees created over the course of the project were done without a structure or accountability. The members were always representatives of different participating city agencies who also had an otherwise busy workload, often relegating this project committee's work to the background (Asheesh Srivastava 2012b; BIA Office 2012). The ineffectiveness of these committees and its impact on the project, highlighted the consequences of lack of staff dedicated to such Heritage Zone and heritage precinct-related projects.

In 2002, the government attempted to address this problem by creating a committee of: the former Principal of College of Arts at Lucknow, the Chief Architect of the UP Rajkiya Nirman Nigam (UP State Construction Corporation), the former Chairman of the Architects Association, a local Architect and a Conservation Architect, supervised by the Chief Town Planner of Lucknow (HT Correspondent 2002). Given that the project had a significant designed landscape element, however, there was no mention of involving a landscape architect. And, this committee again lacked any BIA representation. As a result, a group of the Kaiserbagh *taluqdars* came together to form a sub-committee to keep abreast of all the actions taken by the Committee and the city agencies. They were

accordingly able to inform and advise the President of BIA with future course of action (BIA Office 2012). Today, however, neither the Committee nor the sub-committee are in existence. And violations of the deed document, the bylaws and encroachment continue to plague Kaiserbagh.

IN CONCLUSION: THE MANY CHALLENGES OF MANAGING KAISERBAGH

The Kaiserbagh Palace Complex and the Kaiserbagh Heritage Zone are two distinct entities having very different physical, historical, social, cultural and architectural definitions. Analysis of various project documents spanning almost a decade has shown that the city agencies have often used both terms interchangeably. This indicates a distinct lack of understanding the implications of a Heritage Zone. It was reflected in the use of the Heritage Zone as a rationale for the revitalization project, but the scope of the project only included the quadrangle.

The previous sub-section highlighted the various problems of executing and maintaining a historic precinct like Kaiserbagh. These problems have, over the years, impacted the way in which historic precincts like Kaiserbagh are treated, regulated and managed in Lucknow. Kaiserbagh has had the unique privilege of being governed by the conditions of the *sanad*. The deed document and its conditions, however, have been either ignored or contravened in several instances, and over a long period of time. The principal agency to enforce these conditions, the LDA, is unable to do so in the absence of dedicated officers who only deal with issues arising in the Heritage Zones that they themselves

created as part of the Master Plan. Their long-standing, often acrimonious relationship with the principal stakeholder, the BIA does in turn exacerbate the situation. Consequently, the LDA has not intervened at Kaiserbagh unless under mitigating circumstances. The demolition drive described in the previous section was one such instance. However, such enforcement has been sporadic, to say the least.

The BIA also does not carry out any enforcement unless it affects their commercial interests. Cognitively, the BIA looks at the historic landscape as a private good and a commodity that they can lay claim to, and benefit from. The historic deed document also gives credence to their treating the landscape as a private good by restricting the ownership and use of the buildings in the quadrangle to royal families and their descendents only. Some of the residents also share this perception. During a telephonic survey conducted with some residents of the quadrangle in March 2013 it was found that a majority recognized and appreciated the historic nature of their environment but wanted BIA to continue being the primary site managers. The primary reason for this was that the BIA comprises of peers who would fight for the rights of the residents.

BIA's primary ownership and administration of the Kaiserbagh quadrangle has proven as problematic as the local government's sporadic and ineffectual attempts at maintenance. In recent years, BIA has not carried out any enforcement of the guidelines laid out in the deed document, in spite of their criticism of LDA's inaction. Nor has BIA undertaken any maintenance and repair of the historic structures within Kaiserbagh, or constituted a separate body expressly for this purpose. Such negligence has, and

continues to impact the integrity of the historic landscape. It points to a distinct failure in managing heritage by the primary stakeholder and owner, very similar to Husainabad.

Management of the historic precinct by the ASI has been equally dismal and one of the biggest cognitive disconnects at Kaiserbagh. The Lucknow Circle of the ASI has, over time, designated the two remaining gates at the Complex as nationally designated "monuments" but did not give similar importance to the residential and institutional Complex that the gates guard. This disconnect from ASI in only recognizing the gates and not the rest of the compound reduces the gates' significance to merely an architectural and antiquarian one, ignoring their role within the larger historic landscape. It is also reflected vividly in the treatment (or lack thereof) that the complex receives from the ASI. The ASI's reluctance to be involved with the larger historic landscape at Kaiserbagh has had physical implications for the site as well. Recently ASI undertook the "conservation" of the Lakhi Gates at Kaiserbagh. The stark differences in the architectural integrity of the two gates and the residential blocks attached to them are visible in Figure 142 and Figure 143.

Figure 142: Eastern Lakhi Gate after conservation work as compared to Figure 112 and Figure 113
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

Figure 143: View of the Kothi attached to the Lakhi Gate.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

Unique historic landscapes like Kaiserbagh that are in continued use need focused management and enforcement to survive the forces of development (demolition and construction). This chapter has shown how even areas like Kaiserbagh, that have their own regulations and safeguards put in place to ensure their perpetuation, can be susceptible to demolition and neglect. This is brought on by mismanagement and lack of an enforcing mechanism at the local level. To complicate the situation further, numerous missteps by various government agencies, the residents and the BIA have shown how even well-intentioned projects to assist such precincts can fail.

The project has highlighted the need for a local heritage management system backed by legislation in cities like Lucknow where cognitive differences between the principal stakeholders can negatively impact a site/landscape. The missteps, ignorance and delayed actions by the government, coupled with strong objections and legal reactions

by BIA delayed a project that sought to highlight the landscape's historicity and save it from the impact of traffic and encroachments.

Additionally, the eventual project was neither in the interests of the precinct's physical development, nor was it beneficial for the residents and users of the area. Its relative failure is not surprising, given that the project was dogged by litigation, apathy, red-tape, ignorance and delays in implementation. Distribution of parts of the project between various local agencies added to the delays and conflict in the absence of any one nodal agency to coordinate and manage. The project carried out at Kaiserbagh was an example of heritage mismanagement brought on by lack of appropriate local heritage regulations in historic precincts, the need for a listing of historic resources at the local level and the formulation of a system dedicated to overseeing such decisions and projects in the city.

CHAPTER 6: THE BUSINESS OF MANAGING HERITAGE: HAZRATGANJ

6.1. INTRODUCTION

Hazratganj has historically been one of Lucknow's most iconic and upscale precincts located in the heart of the city, in close proximity to Kaiserbagh (Figure 144). The area's central location has led to consistently high property rates since the late 1800s, making it a desirable commercial, cultural and residential destination (A. Krishna 2012b). The market street also follows a linear market street pattern, having developed along both sides of Mall Road (dashed, Figure 144), which is today known as Mahatma Gandhi Marg.

The locally well-known precinct is an eclectic mix of colonnaded Colonial-era structures (Figure 145), Art Deco and Modernist buildings (Figure 146) and contemporary steel-and-glass additions (Figure 147). The streetscape is increasingly, however, under threat of losing the original building stock as it adds the new construction, primarily because Hazratganj has no heritage protection at the federal, state, or local levels[102]. Consequently, its administration, management and enforcement have also been very distinct from the other two precincts of Husainabad and Kaiserbagh. This distinction comes from the successful design and rapid implementation of a revitalization project lasting a mere six months, as opposed to over a decade at Kaiserbagh. Husainabad still

[102] Only the Sibtainabad Imambara (B, Figure 144 and Figure 144) is designated by the ASI; however it was not included in the revitalization process.

awaits the execution of such a project. Hazratganj was chosen as the third case study specifically to highlight how a multi-stakeholder, local initiative can benefit threatened and undesignated historic precincts in emerging cities like Lucknow.

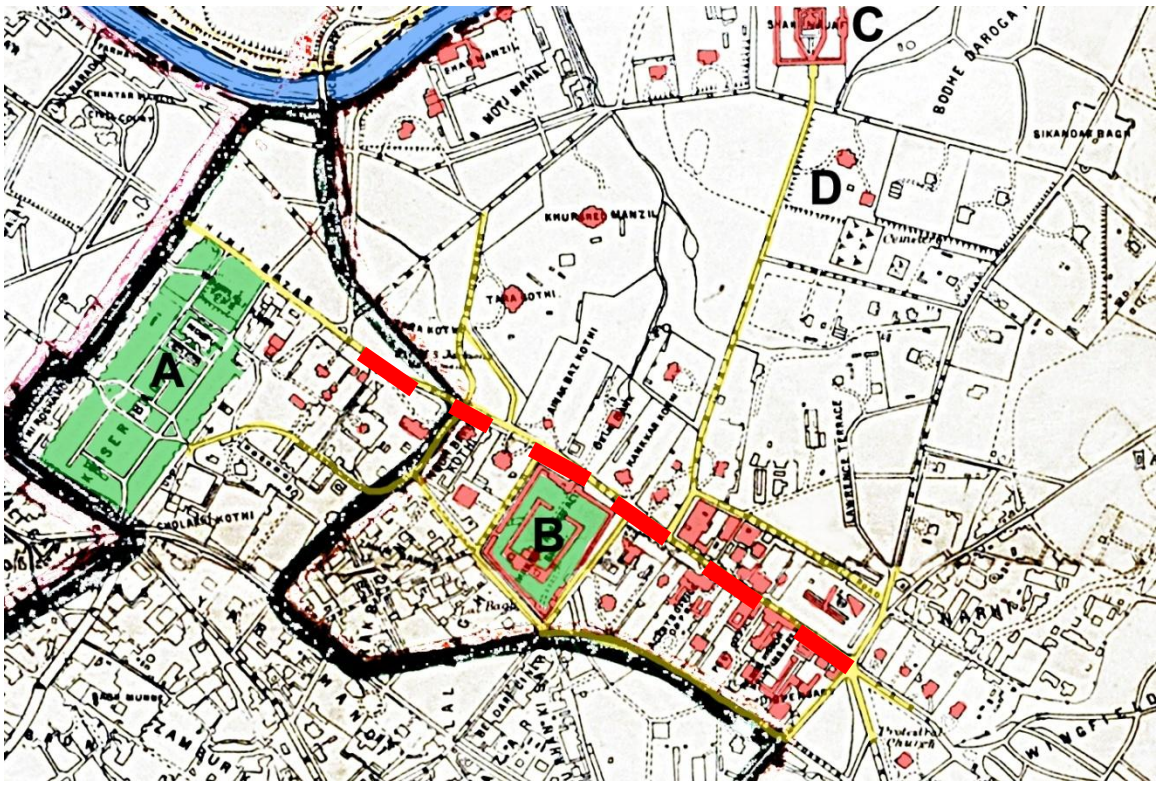

Figure 144: Part of the settlement plan of Lucknow, 1916. This part of the plan shows the location of Hazratganj developing along Mall Road (dotted red line). The Sibtainabad Imambara (B) abuts the market street, together with a variety of the kothis described in the next section.
A: Kaiserbagh; B: Sibtainabad Imambara; C: Shah Najaf Imambara; D: Hotel Carlton.
Source: Government of United Provinces. 1916. "Municipal Block File no.20E". Lucknow (India).

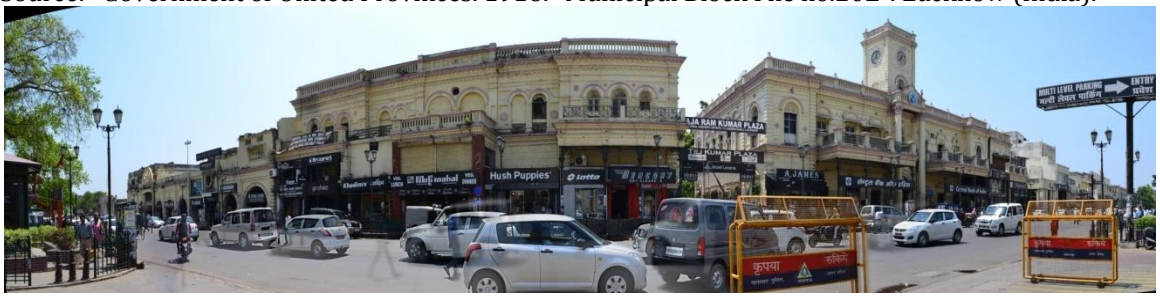

Figure 145: Panoramic view of the Divisional Railway Manager's Office, a structure from the late 1800s.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 146: Panoramic view of the Art-Deco Mayfair Theatre, constructed in 1939.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 147: Panoramic view of the Shalimar Tower, constructed in 2004/05, adjacent to the Modern-era Life Insurance Company Building on its right.
Source: Author, 2013.

Apart from threats of demolition, Hazratganj has also been threatened by the recent influx of suburban indoor shopping malls in Lucknow (A. Krishna 2012b, 14). The precinct's revitalization in 2010 to mark its bicentennial anniversary, executed through a public-private-partnership model, was therefore not only serendipitous, but timely. While some parts of the revitalization project were funded by the government, others were made possible by fundraising, through the organized efforts of the Hazratganj Traders Association and *Connect Lucknow* (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010d; Bhambhwani 2012; Prakash 2012; Asheesh Srivastava 2012b). *Connect Lucknow*[103], a community-led initiative, was created as a registered organization to assist with the execution of the Hazratganj revitalization scheme (Prakash 2012).

[103] The organization's aim is to eventually implement similar city-wide revitalization campaigns.

This revitalization project is described in the fourth section. Before that, however, this chapter first introduces Hazratganj through a brief historical narrative to establish its role in the city's socio-cultural and political history. Then, the precinct's contemporary status is discussed to illustrate its condition just before and after revitalization. The fourth section in this chapter then introduces how administration, jurisdiction and enforcement were navigated during the process of revitalizing Hazratganj by its public and private stakeholders. While the project was not perfect, it definitely serves as a beacon of hope for the future heritage management in Lucknow, especially in undesignated historically and architecturally significant precincts like Hazratganj.

6.2. HAZRATGANJ: A BRIEF HISTORY

The reasons for the establishment of Hazratganj have been debated by many of Lucknow's historians. Most however, are in agreement that the grandiose palaces and *kothis* in and around community arose predominantly during the rule of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan and Nawab Nasiruddin Haider (Town & Country Planning Department 1971, 9; Taqui 2011, 16). Hazratganj was then part of the larger Hazratbagh complex, stretching from Kothi Noor Baksh[104] to Kothi Hayat Baksh[105] (Figure 148) (Taqui 2011, 22).

[104] This is today the residence of the District Magistrate of Lucknow.
[105] This is today Raj Bhawan, home to His Excellency, the Governor of Uttar Pradesh.

Historian Yogesh Praveen attributed its foundations in 1810 to Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, after which successive Nawabs added to the initial precinct[106].

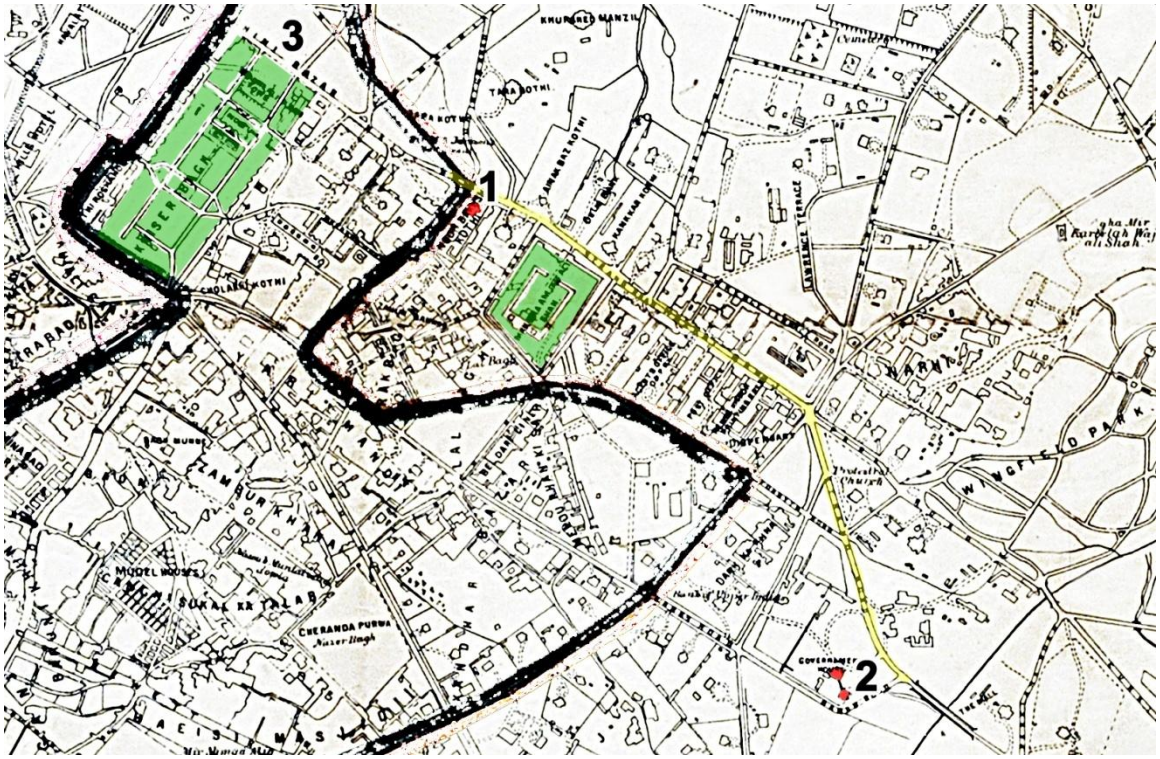

Figure 148: Part of the settlement plan of Lucknow, 1916. This part of the plan shows the approximate area of Hazratbagh between Noor Baksh Kothi (#1) and Hayat Baksh Kothi (#2) with Chini Bazaar (#3) near Kaiserbagh.
Source: Government of United Provinces. 1916. "Municipal Block File no.20E". Lucknow (India).

Prime amongst these was Nawab Nasiruddin Haider, who encouraged the development of Chini Bazaar (#3 in Figure 148) and Captain Bazaar, both known for selling wares exported from places like China, Japan and Belgium. Haider's proclivity for foreign goods further helped develop Hazratganj into a prolific commercial precinct that eventually blossomed under British patronage (Praveen 2010). As a centrally-located commercial and cultural hub, Hazratganj and its establishments enjoyed an elevated status amongst

[106] It was then known as 'Munawwar Baksh' (Praveen 2010).

the higher echelons of Lucknow's society throughout much of nineteenth and twentieth century (Taqui 2011). Identified as the "main street" of Lucknow in 1824, Hazratganj was well-known for its colonial influences and architectural attractiveness (Hay 1939, 123).

Some other historians have attributed the market street's development and its environs primarily to Nawab Amjad Ali Shah[107] in the period between 1842 and 1847. The street's name is derived from Amjad Ali Shah's title of "Hazrat" (Taqui 2011, 18; Majumdar 2004, 234). Amjad Ali Shah changed the market's name from *Munawwar Baksh* to Hazratganj in 1842 (Praveen 2010). In fact, upon Amjad Ali Shah's death his son and heir Wajid Ali Shah commissioned a mausoleum just off of the street: Imambara Sibtainabad[108] (Figure 144, Figure 148, Figure 151) (Taqui 2011, 22). By 1856, the wide and rather posh street frequented by the nobles had become narrower, flanked by tall houses (Hay 1939, 124).

Much like Kaiserbagh and other pertinent historic sites across the city, Hazratganj also played an active role in the First War of Independence in 1857. Many officers and soldiers from both sides of the conflict were killed in Hazratganj especially in structures like the now-demolished Begum Kothi, described in the next sub-section. Evidence of Hazratganj's involvement in the 1857-58 struggle came to light in November 2010, with

[107] Nawab Amjad Ali Shah was the grandson of Nasiruddin Haider and unfortunately died in 1848, leaving the reigns of Oudh in his son Wajid Ali Shah's hands (Majumdar 2004, 234).
[108] Imambara Sibtainabad is denoted as Amjad Ali Khan's Maqbara (tomb) in most Colonial-era maps.

the discovery of a cannon ball (Figure 149) while construction workers dug a one meter trench near the Sibtainabad Imambara during the revitalization campaign (HT Correspondent 2010h). Construction workers also found bricks from 1882 (Figure 149) which gave the indication of either a drain or a road nearly one meter below the current surface (*Times* News Network 2010x).

Initially, both the ball and the brick were proposed by ASI to be displayed at the Residency Museum. The cannon ball is purported to be from the attack on the Imambara on March 14, 1858, which allowed the British troops to advance toward Kaiserbagh (Little 2010; *Times* News Network 2011a). After the revitalized market street was opened to the public on New Year's Eve in 2010, however, the cannon ball was put on display in front of Capoors Hotel (Figure 150) as an active reminder of the capture and relative destruction of the Begum Kothi and the Imambara on March 10, 1858 (HT Correspondent 2011a). It is unclear though, why this particular location was chosen in preference to the area in front of the Imambara gateway.

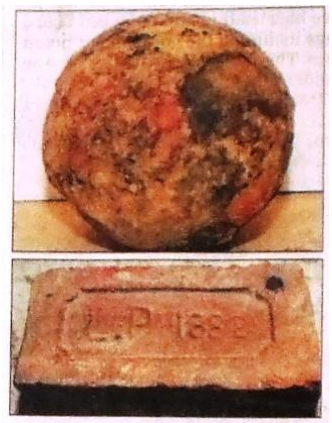

Figure 149: The cannon ball and brick found during excavations.
Source: *Times of India*, December 3, 2010;

Figure 150: The cannon ball on display in front of Capoors Hotel at Hazratganj,
Source: Author, 2013.

After Oudh was annexed to the British and Nawab Wajid Ali Shah was put in the Fort William Prison in Calcutta, “Hazratbagh” began to be reshaped slowly into the Hazratganj we know today (Taqui 2011, 20). The entire precinct from Kothi Hayat Baksh (Raj Bhawan / Governor’s House) to Chhattar Manzil was listed as a *nazul* property and came under the umbrella of “Hazratganj”. The market in Hazratganj was also established during this period (Taqui 2011, 32).

The government also encouraged wealthy citizens to contribute financially to build civil works such as fountains and parks. In Hazratganj, fountains were installed in the area between the Allahabad Bank and the Civil Dispensary, in front of the District Magistrate’s residence, in the contemporary Globe Park area, in Lalbagh, and in the park between Emma Thompson School and Noor Manzil (Taqui 2011, 45). During this evolutionary phase of Hazratganj, one Indian merchant was favored more than others in being allowed to buy property in the area: Munshi Newal Kishore. He bought properties in the Begum Kothi complex, the Kothi Inayat Sultan and part of the Moti Mahal complex to set up his printing press and other commercial concerns. His retail outlet, the Newal Kishore Book Depot was also opened in Hazratganj after the 1858 reorganization of the area (Taqui 2011, 40). Kishore’s descendents continue to reside in Hazratganj today in the original residence. The printing press, one of the oldest and most prolific in India, and the other businesses he established are still functional.

By 1858, when the British took control of the city, Hazratganj was re-imagined along the lines of London’s Queen’s Street and New Delhi’s Connaught Place. During this period

the market was resettled from roughly the Allahabad Bank building (Q in Figure 152, Figure 152) to Halwasiya Market (K in Figure 151), resonating with the columned porticoes of Connaught Place (R. Sinha 2008; Praveen 2010). It was referred to in most government correspondence as “Civil Lines” (Government of United Provinces 1918b). The market street began to take much of its present ‘Colonial’ character circa 1860 (Figure 152, Figure 153), drawing crowds from the various economic and social strata in both the pre and post-Independence periods (Majumdar 2004). However, apart from the British, it was most popular with the Nawabs, royal families, *taluqdars* and rich noblemen who visited the market in their buggies and motorcars (R. Sinha 2008). By 1871, when the British had firmly established their hold, Hazratganj had many structures for commercial, institutional, social and cultural use (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010d). The following sub-sections briefly describe them.

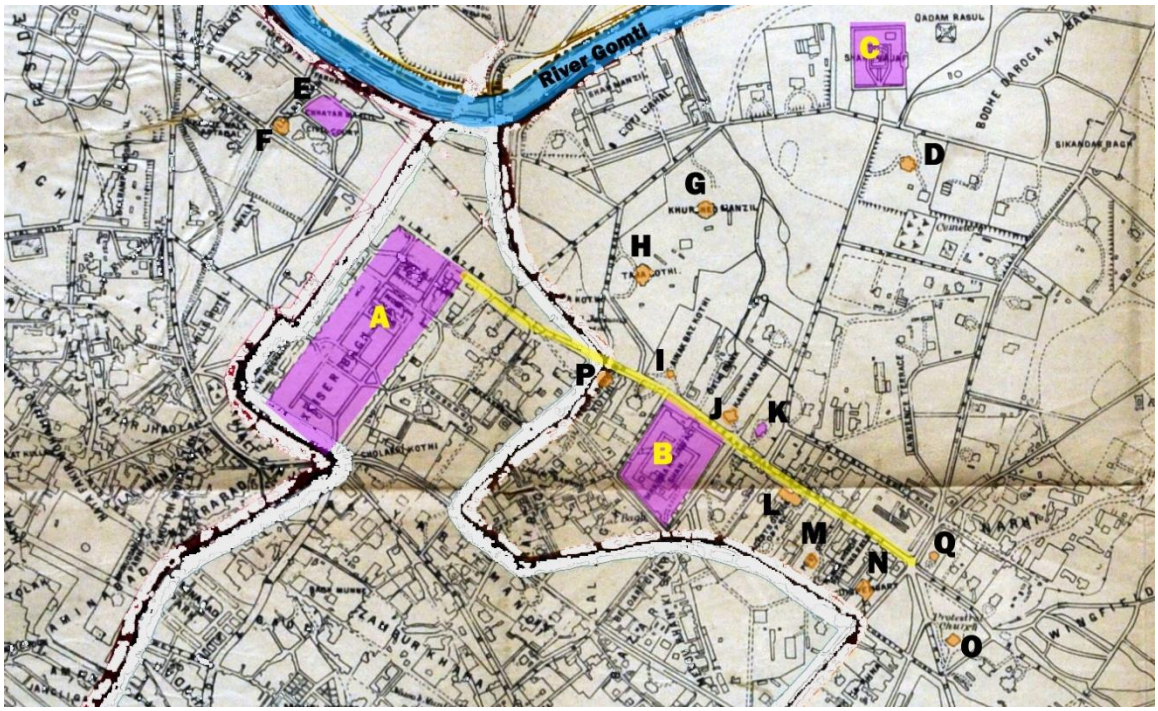

Figure 151: Plan of the urban precinct of Hazratganj (yellow line), part of an unpublished detailed settlement plan of Lucknow from 1916.
A: Kaiserbagh; B: Sibtainabad Imambara; C: Shah Najaf Imambara; D: Mansion today known as Hotel Carlton; E: Chattar Manzil; F: Lal Baradari; G: Khursheed Manzil; H: Tarawali Kothi; I: Ainakwali Kothi; J: Kankarwali Kothi; K: St. Joseph's Church; L: Divisional Railway Manager's Office ; M: Begum Kothi housing the Post Office; N: Civil Dispensary; O: Protestant Church, today known as Christ Church; P: Kothi Noor Baksh today known as the DM's Residence; Q: Allahabad Bank.
Source: General Administration File 378C, 1894. UP State Archives.

Figure 152: Undated view of Allahabad Bank on the left with the site for the future General Post Office in the background (greens)
Source: Roshan Taqui, *Hazratganj – A Journey Through the Times*, 2011. Pg.7.

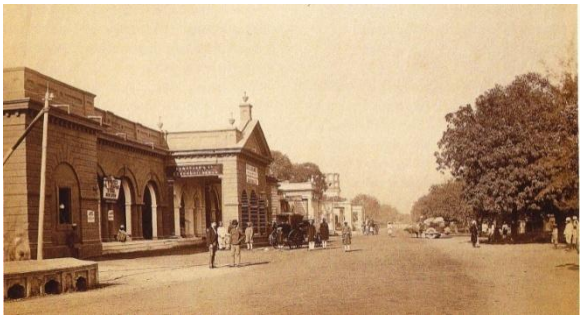

Figure 153: John Edward Sache, *Shops along Hazratganj*, albumin print, c.1871.
From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 93.

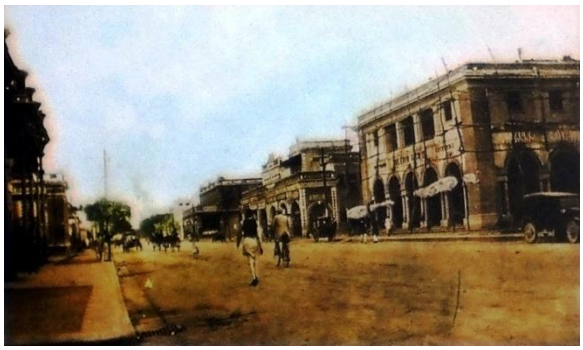

Figure 154: Undated view of Hazratganj. The view appears to be from in front of the Hazratganj Police Station, looking away from the Allahabad Bank building.
Source: Roshan Taqui, *Hazratganj – A Journey Through the Times*, 2011. Pg.64.

Figure 155: View of Hazratganj from the main crossing circa 1920s.
Source: Roshan Taqui, *Hazratganj – A Journey Through the Times*, 2011. Pg.46.

6.2.1. Kothis (Bungalows)

Several grand *kothis* and residential palaces laid the foundation for the market street seen today. Kothi Noor Baksh (Figure 158)**,** facing Mahatma Gandhi Marg in Hazratganj, is today more popularly known as the District Magistrate's Residence. As one of the most well-maintained original *kothis*, the building holds a place of pride within the market street, especially due to its location adjacent to the Jehangirabad Palace[109]. It was built by Nawab Saadat Ali Khan between 1798 and 1814, to be used as one of his son's residence. It is one of the first residential buildings of its kind that used the Nawabi fish emblem on its façade (Praveen 2008, 120). Today, the fish motif is seen across many Nawabi-era buildings and gateways in the city. The importance of the emblem is evinced

[109] This is another well-preserved kothi. It is private property, belonging to the current Raja of Jehangirabad, a *taluqa* about 40kms away from Lucknow.

by the fact that it has been a part of the emblem for the state of Uttar Pradesh (Figure 156) and the State Police Service (Figure 157) since the early 1900s.

Figure 156: The current Uttar Pradesh State Seal featuring a bow & arrow and fish motif was adopted in 1916.
Source: Hubert de Vries, 2009. http://www.hubert-herald.nl/BhaUttarPradesh.htm (accessed October 20, 2013).

Figure 157: The Uttar Pradesh State Police Seal with the fish motif at its center, under the Government of India's emblem.
Source: Hubert de Vries, 2009. http://www.hubert-herald.nl/BhaUttarPradesh.htm (accessed October 20, 2013).

In 1814, when Saadat Ali Khan's son Ghaziuddin Haider ascended to the throne of Oudh, he asked his brother Sadiq Ali Khan to vacate the premises in favor of his chief minister (Praveen 2008, 117). In 1837, when Mohammad Ali Shah ascended the throne, he again made use of the residence for his son (Praveen 2008, 119). During the War of 1857, the kothi was used by General Havelock to make several proclamations. It was eventually used as the residence of the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow for several years until Indian Independence in 1947 (Praveen 2008, 120).

Across and further down the street was the Kankarwali Kothi (Figure 159). Not much has been written about this structure, once located adjacent to St. Joseph's Church ("J" in Figure 151). This two-storied building was built in an eclectic design with the different elements that came to characterize the 'bungalow'. Its walls, plastered with *kankar* (gravel), were its unique feature and gave the kothi its name. Built by Nawab Saadat Ali

Khan, it was the residence of the City Magistrate until 1904 (Taqui 2011). Later it was demolished to make way for the current Halwasiya Court (Taqui 2011, 42).

Figure 158: Unknown photographer, *Nur Bakhsh Kothi,* albumin print, c.1865.
From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 99.

Figure 159: Darogha Ubbas Alli, *Kankarwali Kothi*, albumin print, published 1874.
From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, *Lucknow: City of Illusion* (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 98.

Khursheed Manzil, (Figure 160 and Figure 161) meaning the "House of the Sun", was named by Nawab Saadat Ali Khan after one of his favorite wives, Khursheed Zadi, and built between 1800 and 1810. It is a two-storied structure surrounded by several turreted towers and a moat with a drawbridge (Hay 1939, 145). The house was primarily built for ladies observing *purdah* (veiled). After 1856 it was occupied by British officers, only to be taken by the local fighters in 1857. As a result, the building and its environs were also heavily involved with the exchange of musket fire (Hay 1939, 146). In 1876, the building changed its use completely and became the Lucknow Girls' School. The Government rented the complex to the school free of cost. Later, the school changed its name to La Martiniere Girls' School, having received funding from General Claude Martin's Trust (Taqui 2011, 32). The building, comprising classrooms, a drawing room,

dormitories with wide verandahs (Hay 1939, 148) still stands, and is still home to the School.

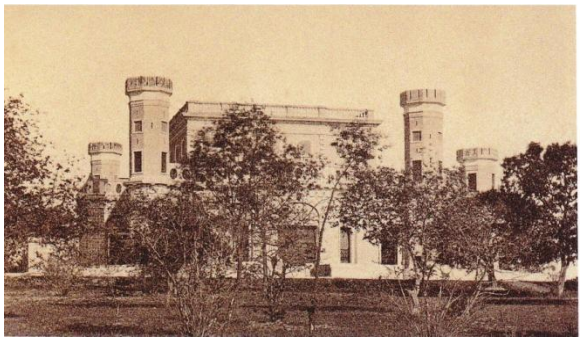

Figure 160: Unknown photographer, *Khurshid Manzil*, albumin print, c.1865.
From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, Lucknow: City of Illusion (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 100.

Figure 161: Sir David Scott Dodgson, *Khursyad Munzil*, colored lithograph, 1860.
From: The British Library Online Gallery http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/other/019xzz000000270u00013000.html (accessed August 11, 2013).

Tarawali[110] Kothi, (Figure 162 to Figure 164) originally fitted with several astronomical instruments, was built by Nawab Nasiruddin Haider under the supervision of his astronomer, Colonel Wilcox, between 1827 and 1837 (Hay 1939, 223). By 1832, the observatory was fully functional. The building was inspired by Roman architecture (Praveen 2008, 125). After Haider's death in the 1830s, the structure was no longer used for astronomical observation. For several years it housed the civil courts. In 1857, the local rebels appropriated it as a meeting place. In fact, it was such a key location, that in November 1857, the native resistance was subdued when both Khursheed Manzil and Tarawali Kothi were captured by the British forces (Hay 1939, 225).

[110] Tarawali translates to "of the stars" in Hindi. The building was thus named for its primary astronomical function.

Sadly, most of the astronomical instruments disappeared during the 1857-58 struggles. Several years later, the building was slightly adapted to house the Bank of Bengal[111], later surviving the 1923 floods (Hay 1939, 226; Taqui 2011, 32). In May 1889, the State Bank of India purchased this eighteen *bigha* property and adapted the property significantly over time (Taqui 2011, 32). The Bank continues to occupy it today.

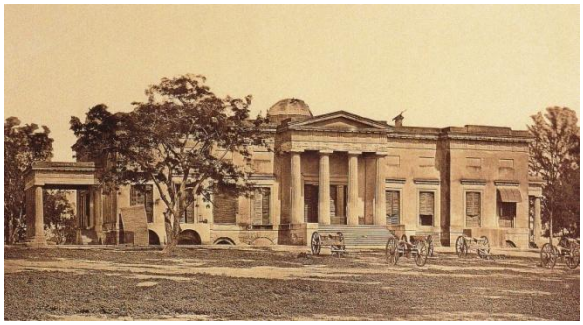

Figure 162: Felice Beato, Taronwali Kothi (the Observatory), albumin print, 1858.
From: Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, Lucknow: City of Illusion (New York, London, New Delhi: Prestel. 2006) Plate 112.

Figure 163: Tarawali Kothi, side view from the newer Annex Building compound.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 164: Primary view of present-day Tarawali Kothi, original offices of the State Bank of India.
Source: Author, 2013.

[111] The Bank of Bengal later became the Imperial Bank of India, which in turn became the State Bank of India after Independence (Taqui 2011, 44).

Begum Kothi (Figure 165, #1 in Figure 167), one of the most well-known and prominent residential complexes in Hazratganj, was built by Amjad Ali Shah in 1844 for his second wife, Malka Ahad Begum. Her property extended from the Begum Kothi to the royal mosque (#6 in Figure 167) behind the contemporary Civil Hospital[112] (#5 in Figure 167) (Praveen 2008, 134; Mookherji 1883, 238). Darul Shifa (#8 in Figure 167), the allopathic hospital built by Nawab Nasiruddin Haider was adjacent to this mosque (Taqui 2011, 23). The three-storied central structure, surrounded by several courts was Indo-French in its architectural style and played a pivotal role in the War of 1857 (Praveen 2008, 134; Mookherji 1883, 238).

Figure 165: Felice Beato, *Begum Kotee*, 1858.
From: National Army Museum Online Collection
http://www.nam.ac.uk/online-collection/detail.php?q=searchType%3Dsimple%26acc%3D1965-11-113&pos=32&total=33&acc=1965-11-113-61
(accessed August 11, 2013).

Figure 166: The 1970s Janpath market complex that replaced Begum Kothi after its demolition.
Source: Author, 2013.

[112] The Civil Hospital building was once an Imambara. Together with the *toshakhana* it was a part of the Begum Kothi complex (Taqui 2011, 23). The contemporary hospital building has completely engulfed the original structure with contemporary additions.

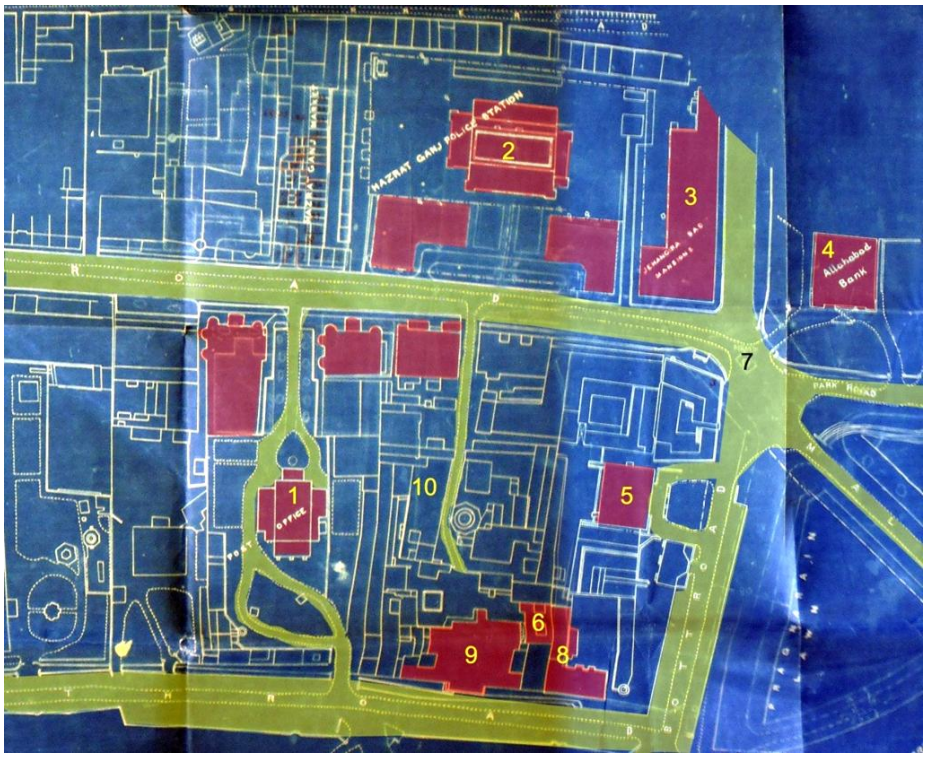

Figure 167: Part of an unpublished blueprint plan of Hazratganj from 1921.
1: Begum Kothi, used as the Post Office; 2: The Hazratganj Kotwali (Police Station); 3: Jehangirabad Mansion; 4: Allahabad Bank; 5: Civil Dispensary; 6: Mosque; 7: Hazratganj Crossing; 8: Darul Shifa; 9: Newal Kishore's Residence; 10: Newal Kishore Printing Press (approximate).
Source: Municipal Block File 500E, 1921. UP State Archives.

After the local rebellion ended in 1858, the British confiscated most of the properties owned by former members of the opposition. As a result, Begum Kothi and the other buildings within the complex were converted for other uses. The Kothi served as the General Post Office until 1932 (Figure 167) (Praveen 2008, 134; Hay 1939, 87). The boundary wall and some parts of Begum Kothi were razed to the ground and declared *nazul* property and the main building was used as a guest house for European visitors for several years (Taqui 2011, 30).

The eastern buildings of the complex were allotted to Munshi Newal Kishore in 1859 and he built a boundary wall adjacent to the main Kothi and his new residence (#9 in Figure 167). By the 1970s, the main Begum Kothi structure was threatened with demolition. With the lobbying efforts of Major General Habibullah and his friends and the support of the then Chief minister H.N. Bahuguna, however, the building got a reprieve. Politics got in the way again, so that when Bahuguna lost the election in 1975, the *kothi* lost its protection (Taqui 2011, 76). Finally, in 1977, the main Begum Kothi was demolished to make way for the 1970's Modernist-inspired Janpath market (Figure 166) and office complexes. Within this newer, incongruous collection of buildings still exists the tomb of Amjad Ali Shah's son (Taqui 2011, 23), though its neglected condition is largely due to its lack of any local, state or federal designation and care.

6.2.2. Religious edifices

The Begum Kothi was not the only iconic building in Hazratganj that was lost over time. In 1868, the St. Joseph's Church (Figure 168) was consecrated across the street from where the Mayfair Theatre stands today (Taqui 2011, 64). Built in the Gothic style, the church had a spire and timbered roof, designed by an officer in the Royal Corps of Engineers. In 1968, its roof was considered unsafe, prompting the Church's demolition to make way for the larger Modernist structure that exists today. Constructed between 1970 and 1977, today this cathedral serves as the seat of the Catholic bishop (Taqui 2011, 65).

Figure 168: Darogha Abbas Ali, St Josephs Church, photographic print, 1874.
From: The British Library Online Gallery, http://www.bl.uk/onlinegallery/onlineex/apac/photocoll/s/019pho000000988u00010000.html (accessed August 12, 2013).

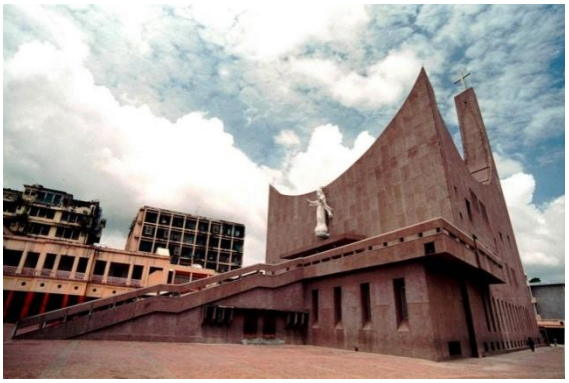

Figure 169: Worms-eye view of the Cathedral, 2005.
Source: Husain Studios.
http://www.panoramio.com/photo/11967356 (accessed October 20, 2013).

Figure 170: The newer St. Joseph's Cathedral that replaced St. Joseph's Church, 2013
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

Within the larger precinct of Hazratganj, full of glitzy arcades of commerce, lofty structures of institutional grandeur and contemporary edifices in glass, lies the relatively neglected and often sidelined Imambara complex that in the late nineteenth century found mention amongst the other two more well-known ones in Husainabad. In fact, the site is referred to as the "Chhota Emambarah", as opposed to the other two known as "The great Emambarah of Asuf-ud-dowlah" (Asafi Imambara) and the "Hosseinabad Emambarah" (Hussainabad Imambara) respectively (Mookherji 1883, 239). The often-

neglected complex of Sibtainabad Imambara, built as a mausoleum for the penultimate Nawab of Oudh, Amjad Ali Shah by his son Wajid Ali Shah upon the latter's death in 1847, cost over ten lakh rupees (Hay 1939; Taqui 2011).

This Imambara is built along the same lines as the Husainabad Imambara. It comprises a mausoleum structure with a forecourt set within a larger court. Each court has an imposing arched gateway (Figure 173 and Figure 174). The main Imambara building rises over an eight-foot high platform overlooking open land and a tank of water (Figure 171) (Taqui 2011, 22). The outer gate of the complex opens onto the contemporary Hazratganj market street. The main Imambara building, though much smaller in scale and grandeur to the other two Imambaras, once had silk carpets, chandeliers and priceless art (Hay 1939, 167).

Figure 171: The Sibtainabad Imambara's main mausoleum structure sits on a platform flanked by steps.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

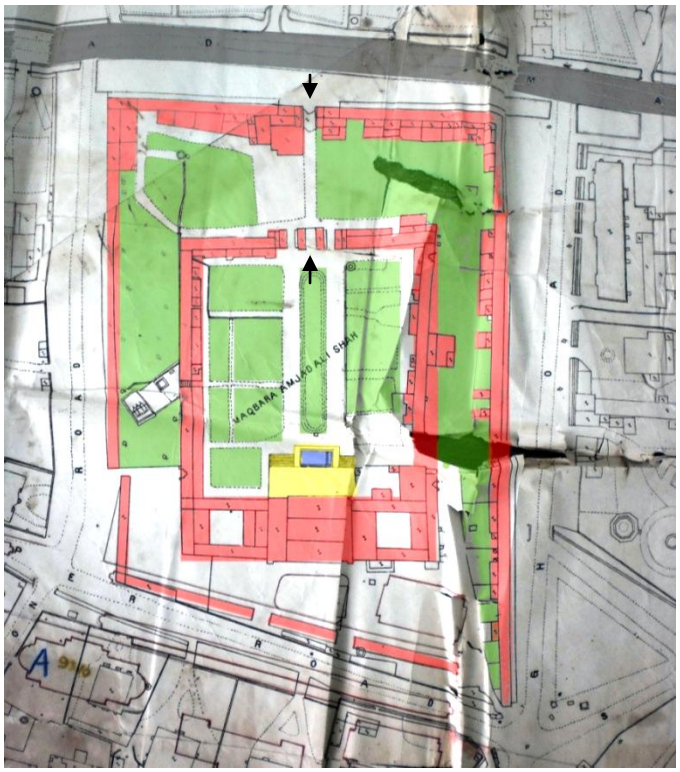

Figure 172: Part of an improvement plan for Hazratganj from 1921. This part of the plan shows the mausoleum structure (yellow) with a water tank and steps. The forecourt is surrounded by an enclosure with inhabited spaces. The two gateways open onto Mall Road (grey).
Source: Municipal Block File 500E, 1921. UP State Archives.

Figure 173: View of the exterior court gateway to the Sibtainabad Imambara. The two side arches have been encroached and filled-in over time.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 174: View of the interior court gateway to the Sibtainabad Imambara. The two side arches have been encroached and filled-in over time.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

The Imambara played a significant role in the history of Lucknow for its part in the contested battles of 1857-58 during which most of the interiors were stripped, except for the underground vault where the king's remains lie (Hay 1939, 167). In March 1858, the south-eastern wall of the Imambara enclosure was breached when Sir Colin Campbell's troops advanced towards Kaiserbagh from Hazratganj's Begum Kothi. After

the capture only broken pieces of the ornate mirrors, chandeliers and other precious items remained, reminders of the Imambara's former splendor (Mookherji 1883, 242).

The Sibtainabad Imambara was designated by the ASI in the 1970s as a 'nationally-protected monument' in recognition of its historical and architectural significance. Similar to the structures in Husainabad, today, Sibtainabad Imambara is used and administered by the Shia *Waqf* Board. The ASI carries out restoration and maintenance work at the site. The residences and shops along the courtyards are administered by the Lucknow Development Authority. The administration of Sibtainabad is discussed in more detail in the next section.

6.2.3. Institutional Buildings

Another notable, imposing structure still standing in Hazratganj is the Post Master General's Office. While the telegraph technology had reached Lucknow by 1856, a Postal Circle for Oudh was created only in 1870 through the creation of the Department of Post and Telegraph. A new building was constructed to function as the office of the Post Master General in the early 1900s and continues to serve that function (Taqui 2011, 42).

Figure 175: The Post Master General's Office in the early 1900s.
Source: Roshan Taqui, *Hazratganj – A Journey Through the Times*, 2011. Pg.113.

Figure 176: The Post Master General's office today.
Source: Author, 2013.

Another major landmark institutional building in the area is the Allahabad Bank building (Figure 177) that continues its original function. It is located at the intersection of Mahatma Gandhi Marg and Ashok Marg and is the sole survivor from its period on its entire block. The structure was constructed in 1879 to house the Allahabad Bank. Its ledgers date back to 1892 (Srivastav 2010a).

Figure 177: The Allahabad Bank building, at the Hazratganj crossing.
Source: Author, 2013.

6.2.4. Social and Cultural Development

Culturally, the market street offered Lucknow's residents with a plethora of performance arts, cinematic and gastronomic experiences through dance halls, film

theatres, hotels, bars and restaurants (*Times of India* 2003; Praveen 2010). The opera house offered dance and music options to the city's residents (R. Sinha 2008). In close proximity to Hazratganj, Chhattar Manzil was turned into the United Services Club for British officers. For non-gazetted officers the Chaupar Stables were converted into the Lucknow Club, further increasing Hazratganj's attraction as a social and cultural hub (Taqui 2011, 44).

The Prince of Wales Theatre, which had been constructed in 1876 to commemorate the prince's visit, was a stage theatre that eventually had a bar and a restaurant, making it very popular with the British soldiers and other members of the Anglo-Indian community (Taqui 2011, 58). Hazratganj's popularity among the social elite of the city continued over the next few decades. The 1930s and 1940s saw a surge in the development of cinema halls, making them a defining period of time for Hazratganj. Three new cinema halls opened: the Plaza, Capitol and Mayfair theatres (Taqui 2011, 58). These are still in existence today.

The Plaza (Figure 179) was constructed in May 1934 on what originally was the Prince of Wales Theatre's parking lot[113]. By October 1934, the newly-renovated Prince of Wales Theatre came under the management of G.H. Thadani, the proprietor of the soon-to-be constructed Mayfair (Figure 178). Capitol opened to audiences in February 1937, followed by Mayfair in January 1939 (Taqui 2011, 58). The Mayfair Theatre, named after

[113] Today, the Prince of Wales Theatre has been dwarfed by the Sahu (Plaza) Theatre. A solitary sign (Figure 180) is all that points to the Theatre's former life.

London's commercial precinct, soon became the hub of the socio-cultural activity in Hazratganj (Srivastav 2010a).

Figure 178: The Mayfair Theatre.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 179: The Sahu Theatre (formerly The Plaza).
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 180: Remnants of the Art-Deco Prince Theatre's entrance at the end of the Sahu Theatre hallway.
Source: Author, 2013.

When it opened, The Mayfair boasted a grand ballroom, which played host to British troops, Anglo-Indians and other members of the higher echelons of Lucknow's society twice a week (Srivastav 2010a). In 1939, Mayfair experienced issues when the local

government disallowed parking on Mall Road (Figure 181). That same year, the theatre's proprietor also protested against any future construction on an adjacent vacant plot of land to ensure the continued supply of fresh air and light into the ballroom and cinema spaces. The proprietor intended to create a lawn, a parking area, an office and a utilities room to service the theatre on the site (Government of United Provinces 1939). Eventually, however, the plot adjacent to the theatre was developed in an architectural vocabulary similar to the rest of the market street to house commercial and institutional establishments.

Figure 181: Parking in front of the Mayfair Theatre circa 1940s.
Source: *Times of India*, January 7, 2011.

Post-Independence, Mayfair saw many changes. Because the new democratic government discouraged ballroom culture and its "foreign" influences, the space was let out to the British Council Library (BCL) where intellectuals gathered for many years, aided by the opening of Ram Advani Booksellers[114] in 1948, in the same building

[114] Ram Advani Booksellers is still successfully run today by the original owner, 92-year old Mr.Advani.

(Srivastav 2010a). The BCL occupied the space for decades before closing in 2001 (Srivastav 2010a).

In August 1949, Mayfair Theatre ventured into mixed use with the opening of the Kwality restaurant, which was already immensely popular in New Delhi. The Lucknow branch also soon became the destination of choice for fine dining in the city and continued well into the 60s, 70s and 80s (Taqui 2011, 60). The restaurant, located at the street level, closed its doors just over two decades ago. The combination of a restaurant, a film theatre playing English films and the location in central Hazratganj boded well for Mayfair for several decades until the theatre finally closed its doors in the 1990s. Today, the building houses various commercial establishments.

Immediately after Independence, Hazratganj was hit by Prohibition, curbed electricity supply and the censorship of cinemas. Despite these and other legislative bans, the cinematic business appeared to prosper in the area. Novelty Talkies (Novelty Cinema today) opened in Lalbagh in September 1947, followed by Basant Cinema in June, 1948. This period also saw the development of pavement shops and hawkers, which some argued came as a result of the influx of refugees. Regardless, the Lucknow Municipal Board made various attempts to rid Hazratganj of this newer, informal style of commerce and consumption (Taqui 2011, 60). This struggle continues today, despite the elaborate revitalization project of 2010.

The 1950s brought two more cinema halls in the Hazratganj area: the Tulsi and Leela Theatres. Hazratganj's trend as an entertainment hub continued until only recently. With the advent of the multiplex movie theatres often housed within the newer shopping malls spread across the city, the demand for older theatres dwindled rapidly, forcing a form of social gentrification within film theatres. Consequently, most of the cinema halls in the city, especially those in and around Hazratganj either closed down (like Mayfair) or experienced a change in demand, popularity and patronage (like Sahu Theatre, formerly, the Plaza).

6.2.5. Turn-of-the-Century Hazratganj

Commerce in Hazratganj has historically had a significant Parsi presence, established with the arrival of Nowrojee Damkawala during the reign[115] of Nawab Mohammad Ali Shah (Taqui 2011, 90). By 1897, Messrs Edulji & Co, coach-builders, and Messrs Rustomji & Co. had set up commercial establishments in various parts of the market (Government of Northwestern Provinces and Oudh 1897). Today, Parsis continue to own several commercial and residential establishments in Hazratganj.

Several other commercial establishments were owned by Englishmen and Anglo-Indians (Taqui 2011, 48). Despite the Parsi and English presence, Newal Kishore's sizeable legacy carried on. In late 1901, a proposal was made to rent the flailing *nazul* stables at the corner of Forsyth Road (Trilokinath Marg today) and Abbot Road (Vidhan Sabha Marg

[115] Mohammad Ali Shah reigned from 1837 to 1842.

today) by Munshi Prag Narain, Newal Kishore's son, and owner of the prominent Newal Printing Press. He wanted to build new residential and cooking quarters for constables of the Hazratganj Police outpost, who already occupied quarters in the stables. In March 1902, despite aesthetic objections, the proposal was sanctioned by the government (Government of United Provinces 1901).

In June 1904, Prag Narain made another application for the ninety-nine year lease of the stable and police outpost in order to demolish both "unsightly" buildings and construct a more aesthetic dwelling. The Commissioner of Lucknow recommended that the application be approved as the dwelling would improve the area (Government of United Provinces 1905b).

Figure 182: Undated photo of the entrance to the Newal Kishore Printing Press.
Source: Roshan Taqui, *Hazratganj – A Journey Through the Times*, 2011. Pg.65.

In March 1902, an application was made to the Municipal Board for the construction of a new civil dispensary in Hazratganj, made in large part from provincial funds. The civil dispensary up until then had been occupying the Shahi Mosque (Figure 183, also called Malka Masjid) in Hazratganj. Today, the Civil Dispensary is the Civil Hospital. The mosque was transferred to the city's Shia community once the dispensary moved into

the new building. By August 1904, there were questions of whether it was to be considered a municipal property (Government of United Provinces 1904).

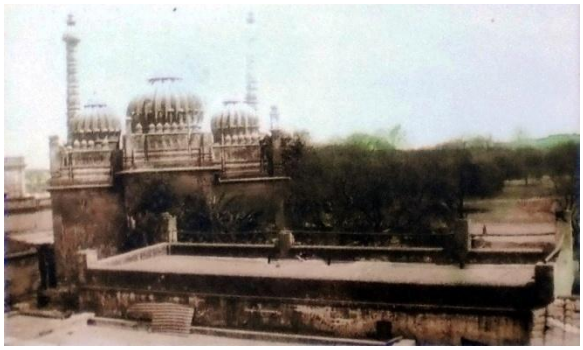

Figure 183: Undated roof-top view of the Begum Kothi mosque.
Source: Roshan Taqui, *Hazratganj – A Journey Through the Times*, 2011. Pg.61.

In 1905 the Inspector General of Police wrote to the Chairman of the Municipal Board regarding building a new police station in Hazratganj (Government of United Provinces 1905b). By February 1906, Sir Harcourt Butler asked the Inspector of Police to construct a two-storied *thana*[116] on Outram Road within 1906-07 (Government of United Provinces 1905b). The police station was eventually completed by 1909. Sadly, it was demolished during the 2010 revitalization of Hazratganj.

By 1924, Hazratganj was further being developed. The *Nazul* Department began constructing shops on open land near the Hazratganj Police Station (Figure 184). In order to fund this construction, the Department sought permission from the government to sell the land adjacent to the Prince of Wales Theatre, between Newal

[116] *Thana* is the Hindi term for a Police Station.

Kishore Road and Mall Road (Mahatma Gandhi Marg today). Before agreeing, the government made sure that the terms of the sale indicated that the purchaser of these plots of land had to seek the Lucknow Improvement Trust's permission before undertaking any construction (Government of United Provinces 1924).

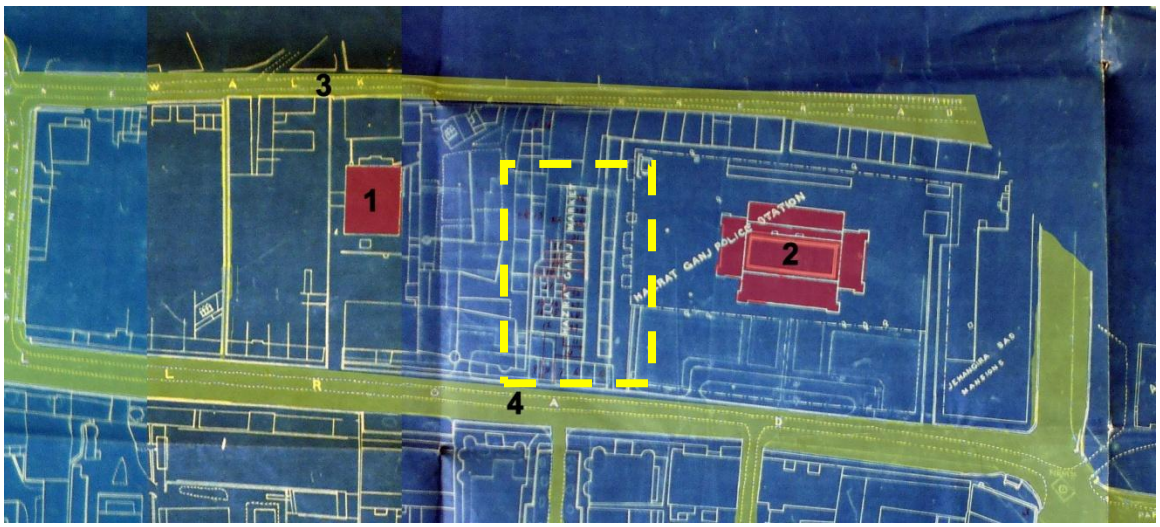

Figure 184: Part of an unpublished blueprint plan of Hazratganj from 1921. The plan shows the plot of land in between the Prince of Wales Theatre (1) and Hazratganj Police Station (2) that was developed and sold as shops. Newal Kishore Road (3) and Mall Road (4) flank the other two sides of the plot.
Source: Municipal Block File 500E, 1921. UP State Archives.

Post-Independence, Hazratganj also began to see other kinds of issues arise. Halwasiya Court (Figure 186), a mixed-use Art-Deco structure located in the center of the market street, was constructed in April 1948 after the demolition of Kankarwali Kothi. As a prime commercial precinct, Hazratganj has seen its share of conflicts. These, however, have primarily related to lease issues, as opposed to the kinds of claims seen in Husainabad and Kaiserbagh. In 1952, and again in 1965 and 1975, owners of the

Halwasiya building faced litigation from their renters (Allahabad High Court 1952; Allahabad High Court 1964; Allahabad High Court 1975).

Figure 185: View of Hazratganj circa 1960s.
Source: Roshan Taqui, *Hazratganj – A Journey Through the Times*, 2011. Pg.69

Figure 186: The Halwasiya Court today.
Source: Author, 2013.

In 1966, Raja Ram Kumar Bhargava, great-grandson of Munshi Newal Kishore, filed a suit against the State of Uttar Pradesh for trying to acquire twenty-two acres of the land occupied by his establishments (Allahabad High Court 1968). His suit was unsuccessful, however, as he leased the land from the government. Consequently, re-development proceeded along the main street.

In 1993 land within the Newal Kishore premises was developed by Attalika Realtors and converted into two shopping malls: Tej Kumar Plaza and Ram Kumar Plaza (Delhi High Court 1996). Since then, though Hazratganj and its occupants have seen rent-related

litigation (Allahabad High Court 1997; Allahabad High Court 2006) and allotment-related suits in Janpath Market (Allahabad High Court 2000), it has also seen unprecedented development in the form of the Best Western Levana Hotel (also within the Newal Kishore Estate, Figure 187) and Shalimar Plaza, next to the Divisional Railway Commissioner's Office.

Figure 187: Entrance to the Newal Kishore Estate now displays the signs for the two malls and the Best Western Hotel.
Source: Author, 2013.

6.3. HAZRATGANJ TODAY: COMPETING WITH SHOPPING MALLS

The city of Lucknow has seen enormous industrial, economic, residential and commercial growth and development in the past few years (Lucknow Nagar Nigam

2006; Majumdar 2004). Following India's economic liberalization in 1991, commerce experienced a paradigm with increased privatization and a new 'westernized' way of shopping (Voyce 2007, 2056). Recent work has shown how local, smaller businesses as well as informal shopping spaces have suffered as a direct result of the advent of indoor shopping malls (Kalhan 2007; Voyce 2007). Large cities like New Delhi, Mumbai and Chennai were some of the first to begin experimenting with the enclosed, private commercial spaces malls (Voyce 2007, 2055).

Much like the phenomenon that occurred elsewhere, Lucknow's urban development in the past several years has included increased suburban expansion and sprawl along highways. This outward expansion has resulted in independent commercial pockets that serve the outlying suburban neighborhoods throughout Indian cities. In the last two decades Hazratganj has slowly felt the effects of the city's expansion and its consequent suburban commercial development. By 2004 the market had begun to see dwindling sales owning to commercial development in other parts of the city like Gomtinagar, Mahanagar and Indiranagar (Seth 2006).

In 2005, Saharaganj Mall, Lucknow's first indoor mega-shopping mall opened in very close proximity to Hazratganj (Figure 188) (*Times* News Network 2005). Since then there has been a surge of mall development across the city, especially in close proximity to its residential suburbs. Wave, INOX and Fun Republic Malls in Gomtinagar, and Phoenix Mall in Aashiana Colony are just some examples of the large indoor malls attracting Lucknow's shoppers today.

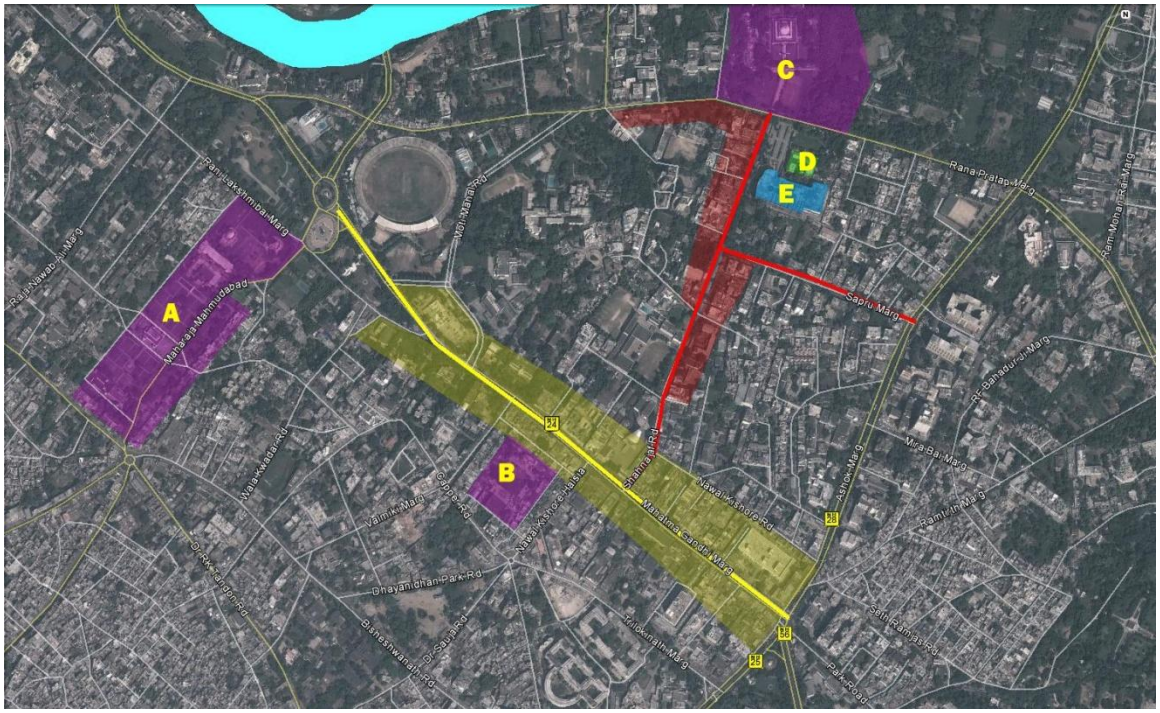

Figure 188: Aerial view of Hazratganj street (yellow line) and market (shaded yellow) with Shah Najaf Road (red line) running perpendicular.
A: Kaiserbagh; B: Sibtainabad Imambara; C: Shah Najaf Imambara; D: Hotel Carlton; E: Saharaganj Shopping Mall.
Source: Google Maps, 2013.

Hazratganj, a prime cultural, social and commercial attraction in its heyday (Majumdar 2004; Taqui 2011), had already begun to feel the effects of the convenience of parking and shopping at indoor air-conditioned malls. By 2005, slowly dwindling foot traffic in the market precinct was a cause of great concern to the central business district shop owners (Seth 2006; Bhambhwani 2012), further compounded by the rapid commercialization of the primarily residential Shahnajaf Road (red line in Figure 188), especially once Saharaganj Mall was open for business.

Consequently, in December 2005, a delegation of the *Lucknow Vyapar Mandal* (Lucknow Traders Association) and other traders' associations met with the state's Minister for Labor to discuss increased business hours for shops including Sundays, in order to combat the edge provided by the indoor malls that are open seven-days-a-week (HT Correspondent 2006a; Chaitanya 2004). These were just some of the signs of an impending change that was further spurred on by the market street's bicentennial anniversary in 2010, resulting in a remarkable renewal project.

6.4. MANAGEMENT, JURISDICTION AND ENFORCEMENT AT HAZRATGANJ

Issues of management, jurisdiction and enforcement at Hazratganj are slightly different to what was previously described at Husainabad and Kaiserbagh. Unlike them, Hazratganj as a precinct does not have a distinct owner like the Husainabad Trust at Husainabad, or an administrator/custodian like the British India Association at Kaiserbagh. Instead, the area is administered by the city's urban and municipal laws enforced by the Lucknow Development Authority and the Lucknow Municipal Corporation respectively. The primary 'stakeholder', the Hazratganj Traders Association (HTA) comprises different traders and businessmen who either own or rent units in Hazratganj. The facilitator for the project, *Connect Lucknow*, comprises members of HTA and other city residents. Therefore the majority of this section focuses on the process of all these stakeholders coming together to execute the revitalization project, rather than the stakeholders themselves. First, however, management at the Sibtainabad Imambara

is discussed in a historical and contemporary lens to highlight not only its resonance with the previous two chapters, but also its complete variance to the rest of Hazratganj.

6.4.1. Sibtainabad Imambara: Administering a Nationally-Designated Monument

After the 1857 War, the mausoleum encountered several ownership and administrative issues. Lord Canning[117]'s proclamation of March 15, 1858 ensured that the British government had the right to dispose of all the buildings confiscated from the deposed King Wajid Ali Shah and other mutineers (Government of United Provinces 1918b). Consequently, the mausoleum was briefly under the control of the Indian branch of the Martiniere after the war (Government of United Provinces 1918b). For the next two years the Imambara was used as a church while the community awaited the construction of Christ Church, which was built as a memorial to those who lost their lives in the Mutiny. Lord Canning attended that service during one of his visits to Lucknow (Hay 1939, 167).

The main mausoleum building, as well as the *sarai*[118] buildings surrounding it all along the courtyard were declared *nazul* property in 1862. After a long debate, in May 1863, the government gave the tomb and the adjoining shops to the sister of deposed Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, Malka Bahu Begum, with the proviso that she maintain the complex and

[117] The Governor-General of India during 1857.
[118] A *sarai* roughly translates to a motel or a place to take shelter/rest.

abide by any repairs[119] deemed necessary by the Municipal Committee (precursor to the Municipal Board and later, Municipal Corporation) of Lucknow. By August 27, 1863 an agent for the Malka had taken possession of the mausoleum and adjacent shops[120] from the *Nazul* Darogha (Officer) (Government of United Provinces 1918b).

When Malka Bahu Begum died, her sole heir and daughter Choti Shahzadi[121] took over the mausoleum. In 1907, the Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, Sir Harcourt Butler, sought the Legal Remembrancer's opinion on whether the building should revert to *nazul* upon the death of Choti Shahzadi. The Legal Remembrancer's opinion was that in case there were no heirs, the building would revert to the government. In September 1918, however, Choti Shahzadi made a deed of gift of the property to her nephew, Sultan Bahadur, leading the local government to debate the property's future since the nephew was not a direct heir.

On September 20, 1918, the Commissioner of Lucknow noted that the dismal condition of the shops within the Imambara complex was not in keeping with the character of the Hazratganj area. He recommended that the government take over the property and

[119] In case she defaulted on the maintenance and repair, the complex would revert to the state.
[120] At the time of repossession, 86 beams, 71 doors, 40 door-frames, 40 *patao* and 500 yards of *jhanp* and roof were missing; the gate and all the shops were leaking and the Mahal Sarai had fallen down on the western side (Government of United Provinces 1918b).
[121] Choti Shahzadi means 'Young Princess' in Hindi.

give its management to representatives of the Shia community. Eventually, however, the deed of gift made by Choti Shahzadi was considered valid and legal [122].

Soon after, representatives of the Shia community decided to file a suit to determine whether the property would be considered a *waqf.* Since there was no proof that the original gift of the mausoleum had been made valid only until Malka Bahu Begum was alive, there was considerable skepticism about the suit to prove *waqf*. By early December 1918, the government weighed its options: either assist the Shia community with a suit to get the property declared a *waqf*, or try and acquire the property under the Land Acquisition Act. They took the latter route. On December 13, 1918, the Lucknow Improvement Trust successfully acquired the property (Government of United Provinces 1918b). It is not clear what happened after the they took control, but in November 1919 the Imambara became a 'protected monument' under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904, with the two great gates and adjoining buildings

[122] The Secretary to the Government of Oudh debated the issue with the Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, citing Kaliloola v Nuseeruddeen, ILR Mad.XVIII p.201 noted "'that a dedication for the purpose of maintaining a private tomb as distinguished from the tomb of a saint is not valid' and if this ruling is correct and there is merely a private tomb and no place for keeping *tazias* there could be no valid *waqf*". He also noted that this ruling was challenged by Ameer Ali in p.351 of his Muhammadan Law vol.1, 4th ed. He also noted Biba Jan v Kalb Husain & Ors, ILR. ALL. XXXI, p.136 as stating that "if there is an Imambara, a valid *waqf* could be created for its maintenance and repair. Further, "if as it would appear no *waqf* was created and the whole of the property was confiscated after the Mutiny, then the property vested absolutely in the Government and a conditional gift was made to the Malka Bahu Begum". Further citing the terms under which the gift was made to the Malka, the Secretary noted even though no deed exists documenting the gift, Malka Bahu Begum was given possession of the property and a considerable amount of money was spent in keeping the tomb in repair. When the Malka died, her daughter Choti Shahzadi was her heir; she in turn made a deed of gift in favor of her nephew and the Deputy Commissioner and Commissioner felt that this was against the terms of the property and the government had the right to repossess it. However the Secretary declared that the deed of gift was in keeping with the original terms as long as the nephew also adhered to the original terms of maintenance and repair.

being included in 1924 (Taqui 2011, 22; Haider 2012a). In 1921 a major portion of the complex was purchased by the Lucknow Improvement Trust (today the Lucknow Development Authority), which then let out the quarters along the outer court for residential and commercial purposes (Haider 2012a).

On October 17, 1922, the mausoleum came under threat of demolition because it was within the Improvement Scheme of Lucknow (Haider 2012a). Around this time the *Nazul* Office allotted nearly sixty-six quarters in the inner court to several residents, many of whom were Anglo-Indians (Taqui 2011, 23). Today, many of the descendants of the original allottees are still in residence.

Post-Independence, the Imambara halls were occupied by the Directorate of Agriculture and the Census Office of the Government of Uttar Pradesh for several decades. Once these government offices vacated the premises, the property was leased to a furniture company that ran its factory from within this once-majestic structure for over thirty-five years before the Shia *Waqf* Board was handed the property at the turn of the twentieth century (Taqui 2011, 23). Decades of neglect were visible in the decrepit mausoleum structure (Figure 189) and the heavily encroached and altered gateways (Figure 190, Figure 191, Figure 192).

Figure 189: The Imambara in a neglected condition when handed over to the *waqf* in early 2000s.
Source: Mohammad Haider, *mutwalli* of the Imambara, 2012.

Figure 190: First arch of the gateway filled in and converted into living quarters over time.
Source: Mohammad Haider, *mutwalli* of the Imambara, 2012.

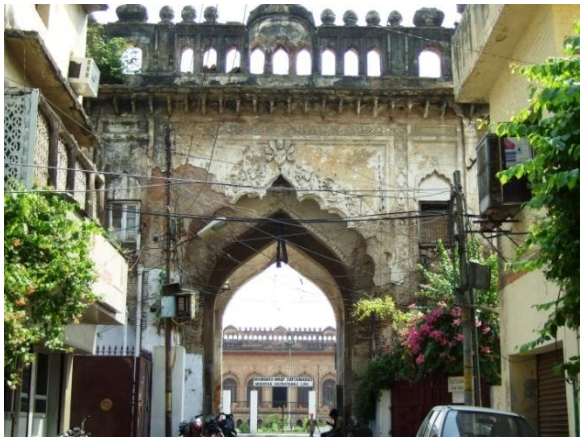

Figure 191: Encroached inner gateway in a precarious condition.
Source: Mohammad Haider, *mutwalli* of the Imambara, 2012.

Figure 192: Third arch of the gateway filled in and converted into living quarters over time.
Source: Mohammad Haider, *mutwalli* of the Imambara, 2012.

Role of the Archaeological Survey of India

Despite designating the mausoleum and its gateways, the Archaeological Survey of India did very little to save the complex from encroachment and neglect. In March 1989, the Superintending Archaeologist of the Lucknow Circle of the ASI wrote to the Department of Culture complaining that, despite repeated letters protesting the occupation of the

protected structure by the Census Department of furniture shops, no action had been taken, causing irreparable damage to the historic structures.

In a letter to the District Magistrate (Lucknow) on July 31, 1998, the Superintending Archaeologist of ASI, lodged a complaint against the proprietor of an illegal motor garage within the premises of the Imambara who was carrying out further construction. Despite actions by the Sub Inspector of the Hazratganj Police Station, the illegal construction was completed in May 1998. Similarly, a First Incidence Report (FIR) was registered against the proprietor of a furniture shop who was undertaking illegal construction within the designated structure. The Superintending Archaeologist of the Lucknow Circle of the ASI continued to protest this illegal activity for over a year without any action by the local administration.

On June 30, 2000 an urgent letter was sent by Mr. Mohammad Haider, joint *mutwalli*[123] of the Imambara to the Director General of ASI in New Delhi noting several problems. These included: blocked access to outer gate of the complex by construction made by a clothing store; encroachments in and around inner and outer gates; encroachments made by residents of quarters along the boundary (Figure 193, Figure 195); use of the complex as a car park (Figure 194). Haider emphasized the urgency for ASI's intervention because the LDA drew up plans to sell the residential quarters they administered within the complex, to the allottees. This would further impede all efforts by the Shia *Waqf*

[123] A *mutwalli* is the caretaker of a *waqf* property, and a member of the Shia *Waqf* Board.

Board and the ASI to restore and preserve the Imambara and its complex. The Shia *Waqf* Board, through the *mutwalli*, also asked the ASI for assistance with maintenance of the park, with funding from the Board (Haider 2012a).

Figure 193: Plethora of encroached structures abutting the boundary wall.
Source: Mohammad Haider, *mutwalli* of the Imambara, 2012.

Figure 194: Encroached garage parking.
Source: Mohammad Haider, *mutwalli* of the Imambara, 2012.

Figure 195: Residential encroachment abutting the mausoleum structure.
Source: Mohammad Haider, *mutwalli* of the Imambara, 2012.

Figure 196: Encroachment abutting the mausoleum structure.
Source: Mohammad Haider, *mutwalli* of the Imambara, 2012.

On September 6, 2000, the Conservation Assistant (CA) in-charge of the ASI Sub-Circle dealing with the Imambara, notified the Superintending Archaeologist about the

encroachments in Sibtainabad Imambara, noting the obstructions created by the tenants and other occupants of the complex in the ASI's conservation work. The Conservation Assistant requested for assistance from the local administration in addressing the problem. A month later, the ASI asked the District Magistrate of Lucknow and the LDA to put a halt to the illegal construction being carried out on the western part of the complex.

By 2008 the illegal encroachments persisted. On August 18, 2008 ASI began repairing the collapsed roof in one part of the structure. They, however, asked the local administration to get all illegal encroachments within the area removed to avoid any accidents and further damage to the fragile structure. A few days later, with response from the District Magistrate, the ASI was forced to ask the Commissioner of Lucknow for help since the quarters in the complex were administered by the LDA, giving the ASI no jurisdiction.

Figure 197: View of the inner gateway in the background taken from the platform of the mausoleum. Source: Author, 2012.

On May 19, 2009, the Conservation Assistant of the ASI again registered a complaint with the Hazratganj Police Station against illegal construction being carried out within the complex. Their complaint was reiterated by the joint *mutwallis*[124] of the Imambara a few days later. On May 25, 2009 the Superintending Archaeologist of the ASI Lucknow Circle issued a show-cause notice to individuals carrying out construction, under Section 38 of the Central Act of 1959. By August, however, their construction had not stopped (Haider 2012a).

On May 25, 2009 the joint *mutwalli* of the Imambara, Mr. Syed Imtiyaz Alam complained the LMC's inaction in removing encroachments to the Municipal Commissioner of Lucknow. On June 13, 2009 the ASI informed the joint *mutwalli* repeated efforts to procure the entire complex from the LDA. The ASI also encouraged the LDA to resettle the-then occupants of the quarters elsewhere in the city, to allow the ASI to comprehensively conserve the complex. While the ASI continued with repairs to the collapsed portion of the mausoleum, it was unable to proceed with other parts of the site without the assistance of the local government in removing encroachments and re-housing the allottees. A few days later, the ASI again attempted to stop a clothing store on the main street from carrying out construction on the outer gate. Unfortunately these efforts were as fruitless as the previous ones (Haider 2012a).

[124] Often, instead of a property having a single Waqf Board-appointed caretaker (*mutwalli*), the task is shared by two persons, making them joint *mutwallis*.

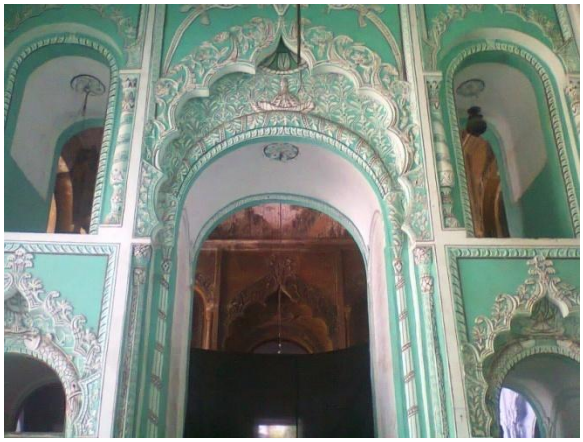

Figure 198: View of restoration work by the ASI in progress. The damaged interiors can be seen in the background.
Source: Author, 2012.

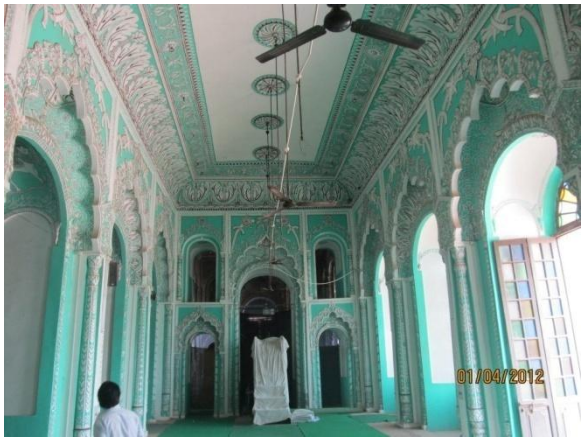

Figure 199: Restoration work by the ASI in progress at the central hall.
Source: Author, 2012.

Over a year later, the ASI found was forced to intervene in the revitalization project being carried out on the main street in Hazratganj. On December 22, 2010, the ASI complained to the LDA about the construction of a historically inaccurate and incongruent fountain (Figure 200) immediately in front of the outer gateway to the Sibtainabad Imambara. The fountain was a part of the larger revitalization project. Consequently, the LDA proceeded with the installation without taking the ASI's permission, despite its being in contravention of Sections 20A and 20B of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Amendment of 2010)[125]. According to Sections 30A and 30B, the offense was punishable by imprisonment for up to two years and monetary fines. Despite repeated attempts, the work was completed, once

[125] The Lucknow Circle of ASI also took out a public notice in newspapers regarding the Amendment, including the condition that no projects, including public projects could be carried out within the "prohibited areas". Refer Appendix D.

again highlighting the relative helplessness of a federal agency like the ASI in curbing unauthorized construction in regulated areas.

A notice issued by the ASI to the LDA, prompted the Commissioner of Lucknow to seek an explanation from the LDA on January 4, 2011. The Commissioner also sought explanations for re-settling the residents of the quarters within the compound and asked LDA to take necessary action (Haider 2012a).

Figure 200: The fountain installed in front of the Sibtainabad Imambara gateway in 2010. Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

Today, however, the electricity transformer, the fountain and the encroachments still persist. The joint efforts of the *mutwallis* and the ASI, however, have been successful over the years in getting all government agencies evacuated from the mausoleum, and removing illegal encroachments in the immediate vicinity of the mausoleum. Between 2011 and 2013, the ASI undertook a massive restoration campaign to repair and restore the interiors and exterior of the mausoleum and its gates, overseen by the *mutwallis*, who now successfully hold religious events in the structure as per the Shia *Waqf* Board requirements (Haider 2012b).

This restoration campaign by the ASI, however, was completely separate from the revitalization campaign carried out in the main street even though it was prompted by it (Haider 2012b). Spread over two months, the gateway restoration involved removing a plethora of shop signage and encroachments, as well as re-plastering and painting the gateway (Figure 201 and Figure 202) (HT Correspondent 2011e). Work on the inner complex began soon after this work was completed, breathing new life into a historic complex long plagued by administrative apathy for several decades.

Figure 201: The inner gateway to the mausoleum complex in a state of disrepair.
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

Figure 202: The inner gateway to the mausoleum complex undergoing restoration by the ASI.
Source: Prof. Michael Tomlan, 2013.

6.4.2. The Urban Landscape Development and Hazratganj Street Revitalization Project

Background

The revitalization of Hazratganj in 2010 was a landmark process in its conception, execution and management. It was also a "community-led"[126] project that sought government participation for better project development and implementation. The project, though initially conceived in 1998 by a group of traders from the market street, began to gain momentum by the turn of the new millennium. In 2007, one of the first public aspects of the project was put in motion when the Commissioner of Lucknow chaired a meeting at the LDA Headquarters, sanctioning more than 125 crore rupees for constructing a multi-level parking garage. This was proposed to be constructed in place of the buildings housing the century-old Hazratganj Police Station, the Women's Cell and the Fire Station. This project also included provision of parking garages near the Janpath Market and Jhandewala Park to tackle the problem of congestion in the main street (City Correspondent 2007).

The project design included plans to renovate and restore the street facades with imitation cast-iron Victorian street lamps, benches, garbage disposal bins and other street furniture at a total estimated cost of over 450 crore rupees (City Correspondent 2010c; Amar Ujala Bureau 2010f). The project also included plans for widening

[126]The community primarily comprised members of the Hazratganj Traders Association (HTA), a registered organization comprising businessmen from the precinct.

pavements for pedestrians to between five and seven feet (Shah 2010b), creating landscape elements like urban greens and ornamental water fountains to attract shoppers, and creating a uniform streetscape through signage control (Figure 205, Figure 206) (Asheesh Srivastava 2012b; City Correspondent 2010c; City Correspondent 2010d; *Pioneer* News Service 2010).

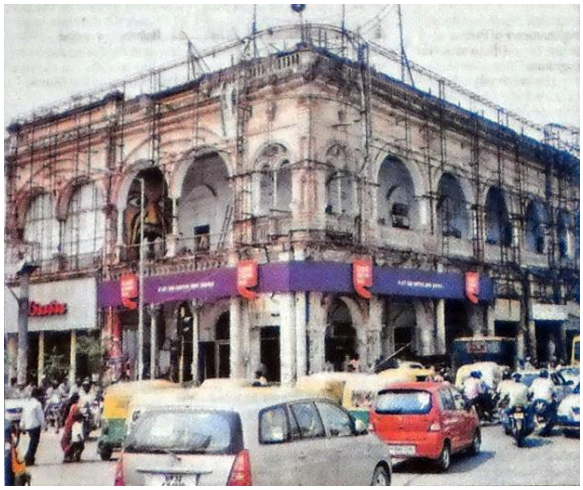

Figure 203: Chaotic signage at the Hazratganj intersection being removed during the project.
Source: *Hindustan Times*, August 1, 2010.

Figure 204: Chaotic signage in Hazratganj prior to revitalization project.
Source: Author, 2008.

One major urban element proposed was the creation of a large four-foot book in aluminium containing four leaves full of the market's history, to be displayed in the small park being created outside the DRM Office[127] (Yadav 2010; Srivastav 2010b). As part of the revitalization process, the 150-year old clock in Central Bank's tower was to be repaired (Yadav 2010). Drinking water fountains, a tourist information center, a

[127] This component of the project was yet to be implemented as of May 2012.

police booth and a subway[128] to connect to Janpath market were planned for Hazratganj. Other civic improvements planned, included upgrading the market street's power supply by providing eight new, higher capacity transformers to replace the older, bulkier ones (*Times* News Network 2010v). Before the project was submitted by the design consultant to the LDA, input and ideas were taken from the traders of Hazratganj and officers of the HTA (City Correspondent 2010e; *Pioneer* News Service 2010). Towards the end of the project, it was estimated that the total area of work done would cover over 13 acres[129] (*Times* News Network 2010w).

In 2007 the Lucknow Electricity Supply Administration (LESA) began to relocate all of the electricity wires around the Hazratganj area to below grade. The telephone and cable connections were also planned to be installed below grade (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010b). By 2008, several city agencies had begun other civic improvements. The chaotic and dangerous overhead electricity wires and poles (Figure 205) were tackled by Uttar Pradesh Power Corporation Limited (UPPCL) to improve the safety and aesthetics (City Correspondent 2008a; City Correspondent 2008c). Around this time talks of the market's bicentennial celebrations began to materialize (Amar Ujala Bureau 2008a). Calls for revitalizing Hazratganj increased under the leadership of the city's prominent

[128] This component of the project was yet to be implemented as of May 2012.
[129] For comparison, the cricket field in KD Singh Babu Stadium is about 6 acres (Times News Network 2010w)

conservation architect[130] who eventually played a central role in designing the project (City Correspondent 2008b).

Figure 205: Chaotic overhead wires were improved by UPPCL in Hazratganj and Lalbagh (above).
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

Figure 206: Traffic congestion in front of the Halwasiya Market.
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

The HTA also recognized the need for revitalization, having for a long time been plagued by hawkers, encroachments, bad traffic management (Figure 206) and lack of parking. The president of HTA pledged full its cooperation and assistance for the project, including façade restoration and renovation of the entire street (Amar Ujala Bureau 2008b). Most of the buildings along the market are either *waqf* property and therefore rented by traders or are owned privately (Amar Ujala Bureau 2008b). Despite different ownership situations, the entire market street was successfully uniformly painted.

By January 2009, however several aspects of the government's vision had hit a snag. The initial project was planned as a public-private-partnership between LDA and a private company. The company planned to recoup its investment from revenue collected by

[130] Asheesh Srivastava of ANB Consultants.

operating the parking structure. The first and second floors of the parking structure would have been used for commercial parking, leading to more profits (Shah 2009). The private investors, however, backed out due to the global financial situation, leaving the LDA with sole responsibility for the project. Consequently, the state government had to provide thirty two crore rupees for the parking structure's construction (Shah 2009). In July 2009, the work finally began and the century-old, undesignated police station was demolished by the LDA (Figure 207) to make way for the parking garage (Figure 208) despite the protests from not only the police officers but also concerned citizens (*Times* News Network 2009; Taqui 2011, 65).

Figure 207: Demolition of the Hazratganj Police Station in 2009.
Source: Online Blog "Georgie's Musings" http://wwwgeorgeherbertsheperdlko.blogspot.com/2009/08/hazratganj-police-station-demolished.html (accessed August 12, 2013).

Figure 208: The new multi-level parking garage constructed in place of the police station.
Source: Author, 2013.

Stakeholders

The way in which stakeholders are involved at Hazratganj is different to what has been seen at Husainabad and Kaiserbagh. The primary stakeholder at Hazratganj, the Hazratganj Traders Association (HTA), is a registered organization that was created several decades ago to homogenize the market, its function and to represent the rights of the business owners to the local government. The organization periodically elects a president and treasurer. The businesses along the street are divided into five zones, each of which is represented by an officer of the HTA. Together, the five zone representatives, the president and the treasurer, administer the commercial interest of Hazratganj.

The other stakeholders for the project were the city agencies involved with executing various upgrades. The overall project was executed by the Lucknow Development Authority (LDA), with sanitation upgrades by the Lucknow Municipal Corporation (LMC), electrical and electricity supply by the Lucknow Electricity Supply Administration (LESA) and water supply upgrades by Uttar Pradesh Jal Nigam (UPJN). The state funded infrastructural and civic work, while the HTA pooled money to contribute to the façade restoration of the entire street. The entire project was designed by conservation architect Asheesh Srivastava, who oversaw the work carried out by the LDA and private contractors hired by the HTA.

All these stakeholders were overseen by *Connect Lucknow*, a registered society created specifically for this project. *Connect Lucknow*'s team comprised prominent Lucknow citizens including journalists, businessmen and bureaucrats. The purpose of the society was to liaise with the government and the traders to ensure a smooth execution and delivery of the project and to promote the city's cultural heritage (Prakash 2012).

Execution in 2010

The different stakeholders, each with set tasks, all contributed to the successful execution of the revitalization project within a relatively short period (six months) even though some aspects of the work had begun before 2010. A major one among these was the parking garage that had begun in July 2009 with a March 2010 deadline. By February 2010, the LDA was also thinking of renting out office space within the parking garage to recover construction and maintenance costs (*Times* News Network 2010a). The construction, however, was delayed. The multi-level parking garage, with a capacity for over nine hundred cars, was eventually on its way to completion in 2011 (Figure 209, Figure 210). Its façade was designed to echo the recently demolished century-old Kotwali building. The traders eagerly welcomed the garage because it gave shoppers the mall-like convenience of indoor parking, and it decongested the market street (*Times* News Network 2010b).

Figure 209: The new parking structure was still under construction in 2011.
Source: Author, 2011.

Figure 210: The new parking structure after completion.
Source: Author, 2013.

Other elements of the project began to fall into place when members of HTA submitted a proposal to the Chairman of the UP State Advisory Council in early 2010 for a carnival and cultural programme to commemorate the bicentennial anniversary of the market street, to be held between December 18 and 25, 2010 (*Times* News Network 2010e; City Correspondent 2010c). They proposed restoring the street facades and organizing cultural programs as part of the celebrations. This prompted a meeting of the officers from various government agencies. The chief minister in turn also instructed the LMC to remove the conspicuous transformers, telephone and electricity wires and hoardings as per directives of the Allahabad High Court[131] by July 31, 2010 (City Correspondent 2010b; *Jagran* Correspondent 2010c).

In late July 2010, the LDA sought the HTA's opinion on installing imitation cast-iron Victorian lampposts and other street furniture along Hazratganj. The President of the

[131] The Lucknow Bench of the Allahabad High Court made this ruling in response to a Public Interest Litigation filed by the Nishatganj Residents Welfare Association. The same litigation has previously been discussed in the context of Husainabad and Kaiserbagh.

HTA, representing the traders, recognized the benefits of these additions and gave his support. By this time HTA also made an agreement with the government to paint all the buildings in the market in cream and pink (*Times* News Network 2010g), the color scheme having been determined through paint analysis and archival photos (Asheesh Srivastava 2012b). Meanwhile, LESA encountered problems in laying electricity, phone and optic cables underground. Many shopkeepers, especially those along the arterial roads, had constructed often-illegal basements, which hindered the laying of cables. Fearing litigation from either the shop owners or the Public Works Department that maintains the main road, LESA tried to reach a compromise without harming either the basements or the roads (*Times* News Network 2010h).

By the mid-2010 the project was in full swing with the ambitious aim of completion before the end of the year. The commissioner of Lucknow formed a committee to oversee the government side of the projects. The chief secretary to the Government of UP chaired a meeting[132] in May 2010 to reiterate the aims of the project: giving the entire market street a makeover by painting all the buildings along street in the same color, and removing encroachments and hoardings and replacing them with uniform signage with strict controls for the future.

[132] This meeting was attended by the Principal Secretary Urban Development, Secretary to the Chief minister, Secretary of Department of Tourism, Commissioner of Lucknow, LDA Chairman, District Magistrate of Lucknow, Officers of Connect Lucknow, Conservation Architect Asheesh Srivastava and other officers (City Correspondent 2010a).

Members of *Connect Lucknow* were asked for their input and assistance in determining the sizes and color of the signage (*Times* News Network 2010c). They held several meetings with the traders, officers of HTA, the consultant architect and LDA officials to determine the appropriate color scheme. Eventually several sample boards were mounted in prime locations in Hazratganj. The backlit white text on black background was the eventual majority choice, paid for by HTA's owns funds (Prakash 2012; Bhambhwani 2012; Asheesh Srivastava 2012b). During the meeting LMC officials were also instructed by the state leadership to keep the market clean. They decided to clear the streetscape by laying all cables underground. This was the first sign of mismanagement. Such a project had been undertaken over a year earlier by LESA at a cost of over one crore (*Times* News Network 2010c). The consulting architect for the project, Asheesh Srivastava was also asked to provide increased green spaces and benches for sitting to make Hazratganj more comfortable for shoppers (City Correspondent 2010a).

Given the historic nature of Hazratganj, the government also briefly thought about including the INTACH in the project to coordinate the renovation of the structures along Mahatma Gandhi Marg (*Times* News Network 2010d). For some reason, however, INTACH was never officially involved. Meanwhile, the LMC was given until July 31, 2010

to remove all the heavy[133] and illegal hoardings in Hazratganj (*Times* News Network 2010f). On July 30, 2010, the LMC eventually removed nearly 165 heavy hoardings, kiosks and display boards to enforce the no-hoardings directive from the High Court, fully supported by both *Connect Lucknow* and HTA (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010b; HT Correspondent 2010a; *Times* News Network 2010i). The support provided by HTA was remarkable because the hoardings gave several traders lakhs in additional income. While many traders initially protested the removal, persistent efforts by the officers of HTA eventually prevailed. It was also determined that any defaulters who put up hoardings again would be fined, making this a "landmark case" of enforcing the no-hoardings rule in a historic area[134] (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010d).

Figure 211: Heavy advertisement hoardings were propped up on century-old buildings.
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

Figure 212: Heavy iron girders were also propped up on the roof of buildings for additional hoardings.
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

[133] These hoardings were propped up by nearly 55 tons of iron mostly supported by nearly a century-old building walls (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010e).
[134] The Hazratganj case also gave way to stricter rules for other areas in the city. The LMC decided to impose a fees in addition to the house tax on any houses that benefited from hoardings on their property or roof (City Correspondent 2010g).

The project gained urgency and prominence by August 2010, compelling the Commissioner of Lucknow to declare a cash prize of 2.75 lakh rupees[135] for the LMC team that finished all the tasks within the designated time (City Correspondent 2010c; *Jagran* Correspondent 2010d; HT Correspondent 2010b; City Correspondent 2010f). In August, the LMC began to remove all encroachments and illegal construction along Mahatma Gandhi Marg, including wooden kiosks and platforms constructed by many vendors along the porticoes (City Correspondent 2010c).

By September, a few model benches and lamp posts had been installed to elicit public opinion. Three different kinds of lamp posts and sign posts were proposed for different road widths. The consulting architect, members of HTA and *Connect Lucknow* continued collaborating to make decisions on aesthetics with as much citizen input as possible (City Correspondent 2010h).

By early October 2010, two establishments, including the locally well-known Gandhi Ashram building (Figure 213) displayed the new signage to get opinions from other traders and the public. Similarly, the design of the railings to be installed along the pedestrian pavements were also decided through a participatory process: five samples were displayed in front of the Godrej building (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010f).

[135] Class 4 employees were given ₹2000 each, Class 3 employees were given ₹3500 each, Class 2 employees were given ₹5000 each and Class 1 employees were given ₹7000 each. In addition, Additional Municipal Commissioner was given ₹10,000 (City Correspondent 2010c; *Jagran* Correspondent 2010d; HT Correspondent 2010b; City Correspondent 2010f).

Figure 213: The Gandhi Ashram building today, displaying the uniform signage (in Hindi).
Source: Author, 2013.

By early October, the market street was also witness to a considerable amount of physical upheaval. The LDA dug a trench (Figure 214) along one side of the road to lay electric, telephone and cable wires in coordination with LESA, while the LMC and UP Jal Nigam sought to dig the middle of the road to construct a culvert for water drainage between Allahabad Bank and Hindi Bhawan. The LMC carried out most of the digging during the night during October to minimize traffic upheaval (Figure 215). The municipal agency attempted to manage this process by coordinating with the Superintendent of Police (Traffic) to make the transition as smooth and effective as possible (Shah 2010a).

Surprisingly, despite these disruptions and their fears for business, the traders continued their support of the project (Asheesh Srivastava 2012b; Shah 2010a).

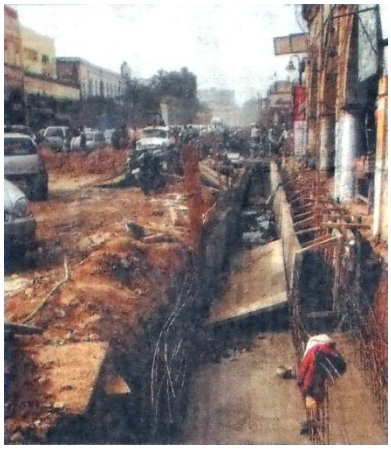

Figure 214: Trenches dug up in Hazratganj
Source: *Times of India*, November 23, 2010

Figure 215: Traffic congestion due to dug up roads.
Source: *Times of India*, November 14, 2010.

The LDA decided to begin operating the first two floors of the newly constructed parking garage to start generating revenue. Initially, this was met with protests from the traders in its immediate vicinity who feared that the entry and exit ramps would affect their shop fronts and subsequently harm business (*Times* News Network 2010j). Elsewhere, many traders resorted to using wooden planks over the dug-up trenches to allow pedestrian access to their shops (Amar Ujala Bureau 2010a).

Meanwhile, the LDA also forged ahead with other aspects of the project, including widening and repaving the pedestrian pavements, installing lamp posts, benches and other street furniture (Shah 2010b). Benches were put in front of the Sahu Theatre (Figure 216), Mayfair Theatre, Cathedral School, Capoors Hotel (Figure 217) and two other stores (Shah 2010b). The curbs for the pavements as well as the road dividers

were constructed in pink sandstone, the same kind of stone used extensively for the memorials and parks elsewhere in the city (S. Krishna 2010).

Figure 216: Seating adjacent to the Sahu Theatre.
Source: Author, 2013.

Figure 217: Seating outside Capoors Hotel and Royal Café.
Source: Author, 2013.

By the end of October, however, many retailers began to worry. Their sales dropped between 30 and 70 percent due to the dug-up roads[136]. This was especially alarming for many because the brisk pre-Diwali sales were conspicuously missing (Behl 2010). Consequently, the Chief minister asked all the concerned city agencies to speed up their work and ensure easy access to the market, especially by Diwali. In response to the Chief minister's deadline of November 30 to complete all upgrades including universal access, the market was turned into a 'no entry zone' for vehicles (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010g). This drew large-scale protests from the traders who feared heavy losses during the festive season (*Times* News Network 2010l; Mathur 2010d). The LDA and LMC workforce was doubled to meet the festive date so that workers could take a break and shopping could resume (Amar Ujala Bureau 2010b). Fortunately, the LMC and LDA workers were able to complete much of the roadwork during the 'no-entry' period. As a result, sections of the road were opened for traffic, well in time for the Diwali (November 5, 2010) rush.

Work resumed after the festive season to meet the November 30 deadline. Post-Diwali, commuters and visitors to the market street were allowed to park their cars in the basement level of the new multi-level parking lot, despite the unfinished upper stories. The service was temporarily free until the parking lot was completed, and initially catered to about 190 cars (*Times* News Network 2010m; *Jagran* Correspondent 2010h).

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[136] On a typical day, the business done by Hazratganj's over 900 shops reaches 20 crore rupees per day; during festive season, this doubles to over 50 crore rupees per day. These numbers were significantly affected in 2010 by the dug up roads all across the market streets (Mathur 2010d).

With the parking garage open, the main street in the central business district of Hazratganj was declared a "no parking" zone, prohibiting any street parking to aid in the revitalization project and to ease congestion in the market area (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010i; *Jagran* Correspondent 2010j; *Times* News Network 2010n).

By mid-November, the LDA demolished a section of the corridor in front of one set of shops to level it with the rest of the walkway and asked the traders to begin facade restoration work. The traders were given two weeks to get the work done (*Times* News Network 2010o). This ultimatum was a result of almost two months of inactivity by the traders in starting the restoration process (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010l). Their failure to comply with deadlines in renovating the street facades prompted the LDA to issue them with a notice under section 12A of the Urban Planning and Development Act[137] of 1973 (*Times* News Network 2010p). This prompted the HTA to begin work, starting with the first five buildings (Figure 218). It was a coordinated effort between the numerous traders and the officers of HTA (*Times* News Network 2010p; Prakash 2012; Bhambhwani 2012; Siddiqui 2012). Initially, the traders were reluctant because of the suspended dust created as a result of all the other construction work being carried out (*Times* News Network 2010t).

[137] Section 12A states: "Where in any development area, any building occupied wholly for non-residential purposes or partly for residential purposes abuts an arterial road, the occupier of such building shall be bound to repair, whitewash, color wash or paint the façade of such building at his cost in accordance with any bylaws made in that behalf" (Times News Network 2010p).

Figure 218: Hazratganj facades under renovation.
Source: *Hindustan Times*, November 29, 2010

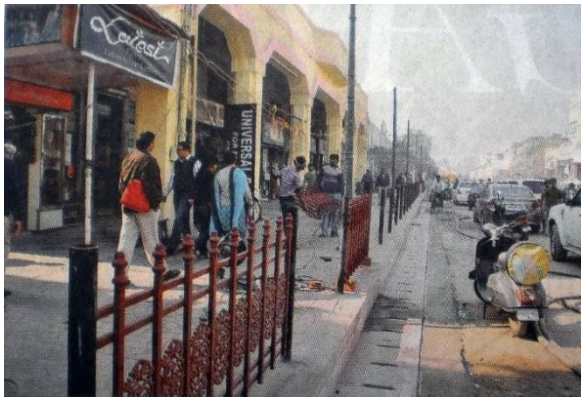


Figure 219: New railings being installed along pathways.
Source: *Hindustan Times*, December 14, 2010

Meanwhile, the cables were laid and fire hydrants were installed along both sides of the street at fifty meter intervals. These were necessitated when the fire station located adjacent to the recently-demolished police station was moved, to make way for the parking structure (*Times* News Network 2010q). Problems arose when the LDA and LMC began to dig up the pavements to put in new drainage pipes and connect them to the existing, century-old ones. The traders initially opposed this new development but were eventually pacified by the consulting architect when told about the long-term benefits of having a well-connected drainage system (HT Correspondent 2010c; Asheesh Srivastava 2012b).

By mid-November the traffic situation in Hazratganj was again chaotic. Residents persisted in driving through Hazratganj, causing further delays (Senior Correspondent 2010). Other parts of the project, however, were making headway. After the notice issued by LDA, HTA was on track to complete the façade renovations on both sides of the market street. The majority agreed on the color scheme to be used for the uniform

signage; white text on black background was finally chosen inspired in part by the Connaught Place initiative (*Times* News Network 2010r).

Meanwhile the design for the railings along the pedestrian pathway in Hazratganj was changed to a cast-iron design (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010k). In order to meet the December 1 deadline, the city agencies were pushing hard to finish tasks lasting several months within one month. Many agency officials and construction workers worked overtime to meet the deadline (HT Correspondent 2010d; *Times* News Network 2010s). Given the delays, *Connect Lucknow* postponed bicentennial anniversary celebrations by a week. Given the uncertainty of timely completion, other venues for hosting the bicentennial celebrations were also explored (HT Correspondent 2010e; *Times* News Network 2010u). By early December, *Connect Lucknow* finalized December 26 as the date for the week-long cultural programs to be held in celebration of the bicentennial anniversary (HT Correspondent 2010f).

Table 8: Status of various project components by November 29, 2010.
Source: (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010m)

Project Component	**Status as of November 29**	**Incomplete Components**
Construction of 2.4 km long pedestrian pathway from Hazratganj Crossing to the DM's Residence	Almost 90% of the pathway complete on the DRM Office side of the street	Nearly 1.4 km of the pathway on the Khadi Gramudyog side still left, mainly between Hazratganj Crossing and Halwasiya Market
Construction of a multi-level parking structure to house nearly 1000 cars and 800 two-wheelers	Basement/Ground floor ready and in use; First floor almost ready to park cars	Second and Third floors still under construction. Target to complete these by February 2011.
Renovation and uniform painting of 18 main big structures in Hazratganj	Repairs on buildings around the DRM office complete; painting began soon after	Over 60% of the work still left; cooperation of the traders sought to finish the work on time with a target to finish the entire market street by December 7
Construction of fountains in	These works will begin after	All these components are still left; target

five areas, seating spaces at 20 m intervals, installation of lamp posts and creation of green spaces	the pedestrian pathways have been completed	is to finish installing all these street components by December 6 by closing off the market street to public access

The work being done on Hazratganj also impacted the adjoining areas. Lalbagh and its commercial establishments got an upgrade opportunity as part of the Hazratganj revitalization project, and funded by the state. Their street facades were also painted in cream and pink to match Hazratganj, and their traders also eventually agreed to the same uniform signage (*Times* News Network 2010z). By early December, a major part of the work had been completed at Bhopal House, the major market complex in Lalbagh. The plaza in front of the building was repaved, and imitation Victorian lamp posts and a fountain were installed. A small stage in concrete was also constructed for holding public gatherings (HT Correspondent 2010g).

Figure 220: Plaza in front of Bhopal House under construction.
Source: *Hindustan Times*, December 1, 2010


Figure 221: The congested Bhopal House in Lalbagh was also renovated.
Source: Prof. Jeffrey Chusid, 2007.

As the scope of work at Hazratganj and Lalbagh drew to a close in December, Janpath was also included in the revitalization scheme at the behest of its traders. The work was later postponed to meet the deadline for the main street (HT Correspondent 2010i). By the mid-December, the trenches were covered up, and pedestrian pathways and street furniture were installed. These also helped the traders speed up their paint and renovation work on the street facades (*Times* News Network 2010y).

Many, however, felt that the façade restoration was rushed to meet the deadline. Only about half the traders had consented to the painting; the rest relented only after the LDA notice. In fact, some LDA officers also encountered protests from traders against placing street furniture outside their stores. To complicate matter further, LDA was unable to find a convenient and safe spot to install the proposed enlarged aluminium book on Hazratganj. The first location was not agreeable to the nearby traders (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010n; *Times* News Network 2010aa). By the middle of December, however, most of these issues had been sorted out and with one week to go before the project was scheduled to be completed, all components of the project were in their last stages of completion (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010o).

The Hazratganj Carnival planned by *Connect Lucknow* in consultation with the Department of Culture (Government of Uttar Pradesh) was scheduled for December 26 – 29, 2010. An opening ceremony and a heritage walk were planned, culminating in cultural programs featuring film stars, musicians and poets. The new location chosen was the historic Residency complex (*Jagran* Correspondent 2010p; *Jagran*

Correspondent 2010q). However, despite the best efforts of the LMC, LDA and HTA, work was further delayed. Consequently, the cultural program had to be postponed to the first week of January in 2011 (HT Correspondent 2010j).

Meanwhile, the LMC and LDA officials struggled to deal with the encroachments that reappeared along the finished portions of the pedestrian walkways, both open and covered (*Times* News Network 2010ab). Consequently, LMC officials declared Hazratganj a no-vending zone, and drew up plans to rehabilitate vendors across different wards in the city, and issue licenses to that effect. This was done to ensure a more streamlined process of regulating encroachments in Hazratganj and other congested areas across the city (HT Correspondent 2010k).

Meanwhile, the project officials decided to finish only the main Hazratganj section of the project by the deadline. They postponed the work on Lalbagh and Janpath markets to after the bicentennial celebrations (Amar Ujala Bureau 2010d). Both LDA and LMC teams endeavored to meet the December 26, by increasing the number of construction workers (Amar Ujala Bureau 2010e). By December 20, considerable work had been completed. Lamp posts and streetlights were installed and tested in sections of the street where they had not been put up before, railings along the pedestrian pathways began to be painted black, and large sections of the pathways were refinished with tiling. Specially-designed benches and garbage disposal bins were installed along the pedestrian pathway, many of the green areas were planted with foliage, and sections of the main road that had previously been dug up were repaired and laid with fresh

bitumen. The newly-installed fountains in front of Mayfair building, Royal Cafe and Bhopal House were made functional. The Lucknow Municipal Corporation removed non-compliant sign-boards in Lalbagh, and the road dividers and traffic police posts at intersections along the entire stretch from parking garage to the District Magistrate's residence (City Correspondent 2010i; HT Correspondent 2010l). In late December the Diocese of Lucknow expressed his concerns for access to the Cathedral complex located in the center of the market street, due to the street's limited access. More than 50,000 visitors were expected on or before Christmas Day. As a result, access to the Cathedral was permitted for a few days before and after Christmas (HT Correspondent 2010m).

On December 29 the market street was again closed off to all traffic for the entire day, to allow all teams to complete the pending work in time for New Year's Eve (HT Correspondent 2010n). A clash between the construction workers during this period caused further delays in the work (HT Correspondent 2010o). By the time December 31 arrived, however, the new Hazratganj was finally open to the public with only slight traffic diversions. This brought several months of round-the-clock work to a festive culmination (HT Correspondent 2010p). The entire market street was eventually inaugurated on January 15, 2011 (Raghuvanshi 2011).

Table 9: Distribution of costs across various project components.
Source: (Raghuvanshi 2011)

Project Components	**Approximate cost after completion**
1.2km long pedestrian pathway, benches, garbage disposal bins, cast-iron railings, lamp posts, underground cable ducts, construction of drains, modern telephone booths, activity areas, fountains	₹25 crore
Old Kotwali Parking structure	₹52 crore
Smart water drains, underground pipe drains and traffic lights	₹6 crore
Replacement of pole mounted transformers with compact transformers and overhead cables with underground cables	₹7 crore
Laying of telephone cables underground	₹80 lakh
Renovation of Lalbagh area: construction of ducts and drains, laying of cables, re-paving plaza	₹17.5 crore
Total cost incurred	**₹109.5 crore**

Figure 222: Newly installed public green areas with seating.
Source: Author, 2012.

Figure 223: The Art Deco style Mayfair Building across from Halwasiya Court.
Source: Author, 2012.

Figure 224: The Art Deco style Halwasiya Court after restoration.
Source: Author, 2012.

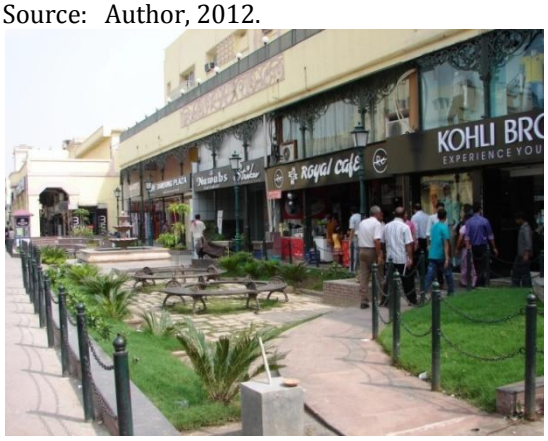


Figure 225: Landscaped interventions with urban street furniture in front of Capoors Hotel.
Source: Author, 2012.

Figure 226: Wider walkways.
Source: Author, 2012.

Figure 227: Sahu Cinema, formerly The Plaza.
Source: Author, 2012.

Figure 228: Revitalized facades and new lamp posts.
Source: Author, 2012.

Figure 229: Landscaped interventions with urban street furniture.
Source: Author, 2012.

Impact

Like many downtown examples in the West, Hazratganj has seen a rise in its popularity after its revitalization despite the escalating number of the shopping malls in Lucknow. Majority of the traders and business owners in the area admitted they have enjoyed a significant increase in business after the project (Figure 241). This was corroborated by the visitors to the precinct, who have shown a distinct predilection for Hazratganj in spite of an ever-increasing presence of indoor shopping malls, both before and after the market street's revitalization. In a pilot comparative study between Hazratganj (post-renovation) and shopping malls, respondents were nearly equally divided in having a preference for Hazratganj or a mall or both (Figure 230). Out of these, a majority (41%) of those who preferred Hazratganj did so because it offered better shopping and eating options.

Thus it is evident that while the revitalization (or a lack thereof) would not have made a difference to the visits made by existing customers, it did encourage about 37% of surveyed residents to visit the market more. That is not to say that the revitalization has been in vain (Figure 232). By breathing new life into the market street, the city government through LDA, *Connect Lucknow* and HTA have all managed to ensure the market street's longevity while celebrating its history. The project brought the area, its architecture, history and the significance of the street to the foreground. This can have long-term impacts in saving other such market streets from losing any more of its architectural integrity especially in emerging mid-sized cities.

Looked at more critically, the ways in which people now view and use Hazratganj have shifted. While shopping and eating continue to be why most people visit Hazratganj (56% cumulatively), the recent revitalization has also contributed to an increase in visitors who specifically enjoy the newly designed open plazas and benches for a variety of social interactions (26% as shown in Figure 231). In comparison to shopping malls, most respondents preferred Hazratganj to any other shopping and eating destination because it provided better options (41%), while a smaller percentage preferred it for its historic character (14%) and for its public, open market street character (15% as shown in Figure 231). These are encouraging figures that show that despite the glitz and glamour of the indoor shopping malls, a variety of residents from across the city still prefer Hazratganj for their social experiences (taking shopping and eating as social interactions too). The inherent character of the market street has to be essentially maintained for it to have a sustainable future, including a mechanism for safeguarding existing street character and consolidating the historic building stock to discourage any future demolitions in the name of commercialization. This is one the biggest strengths and one of the biggest weaknesses of the market.

In contrast, the Sibtainabad Imambara continues to exist in relative anonymity despite its recent restoration campaign by the ASI and the Shia *Waqf* Board. Survey results show that although its popularity before the revitalization project is not known empirically, the mausoleum complex did not fare well. Only 40% of the 600 respondents professed to have heard of the Imambara, although 76% of those who had heard of it had also

visited the property at least once (Figure 235). In a breakdown of those who had *heard* of Sibtainabad Imambara by *where* respondents were during the survey, it was revealed that 51% had been in Hazratganj (Figure 236). On the other hand, those who had been visiting Husainabad were in majority (54%) when asked if they had ever *visited* the Sibtainabad Imambara (Figure 238). This disconnect between knowing *of* the site and actually visiting it can be related to the way in which the site is administratively included within the larger Hazratganj precinct (or not) and how it is placed within the city's larger socio-cultural narrative. The Imambara, being an active place of Islamic religious activity, is well known amongst the Muslim Shia community of Lucknow, but is otherwise not a part of the tourist circuit or the historical narrative (Haider 2012b).

When a small sample of visitors to Hazratganj who professed to having visited the Imambara were asked why, a large majority chose the unspecified option, with only 1% selecting "for religious purposes" and 4% for tourism (Figure 240). Given the hundreds of thousands visitors to the Husainabad Imambaras, and the lakhs of shoppers to Hazratganj, the dismal visitation at Sibtainabad is both surprising and inexplicable, especially given its advantageous location. Years of neglect at the hands of government agencies using it as office space can in part be responsible for the structure's contemporary anonymity. A larger share of its current predicament, however, can be blamed on discordant agencies and lack of dialogue in the absence of an unbiased city-wide heritage management mechanism. The next section addresses this in more detail.

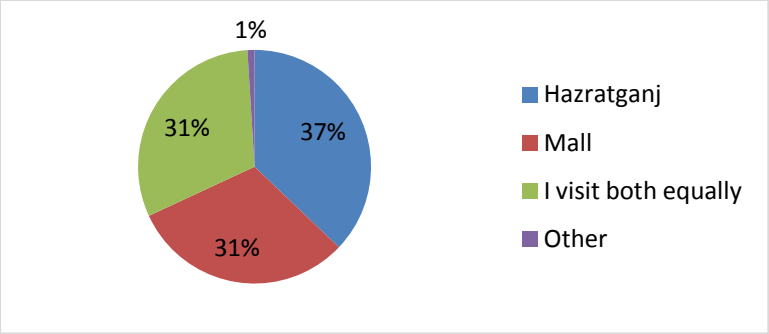


Figure 230: Hazratganj or the Malls. Which do you visit more?
Source: On-site survey, April 2012.

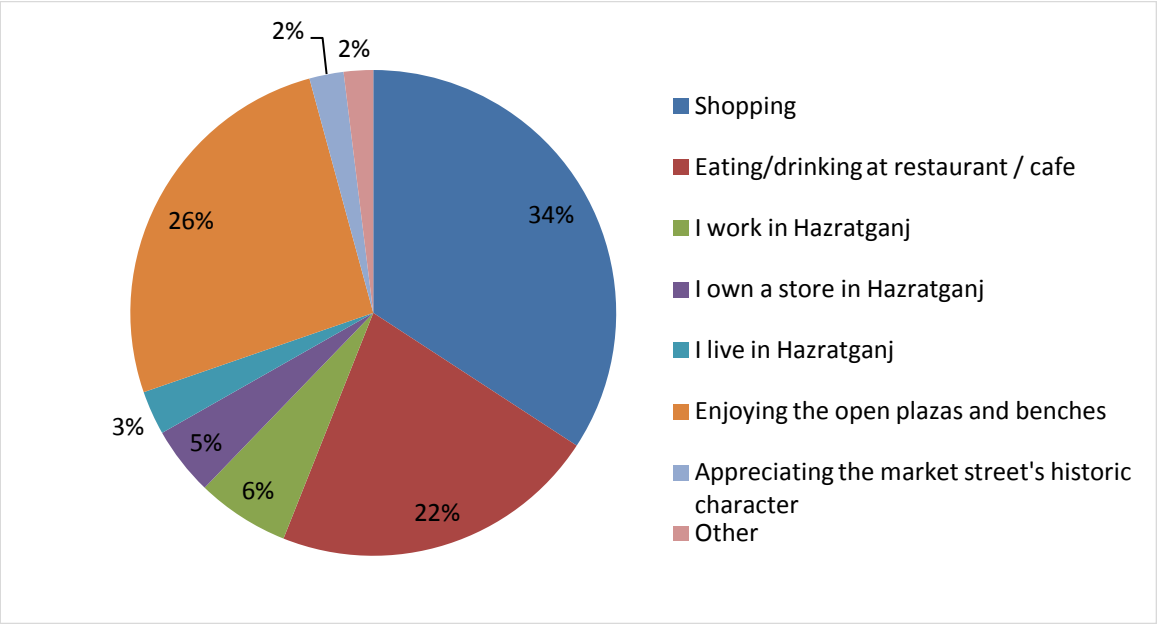


Figure 231: What is your most important reason for visiting Hazratganj?
Source: On-site survey, April 2012.

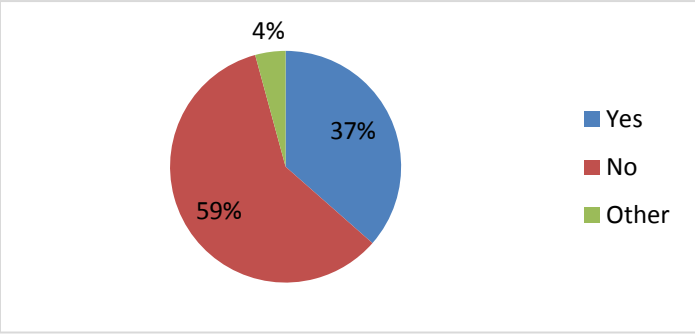


Figure 232: Have your visits to Hazratganj increased since its revitalization in 2010-11?
Source: On-site survey, April 2012.

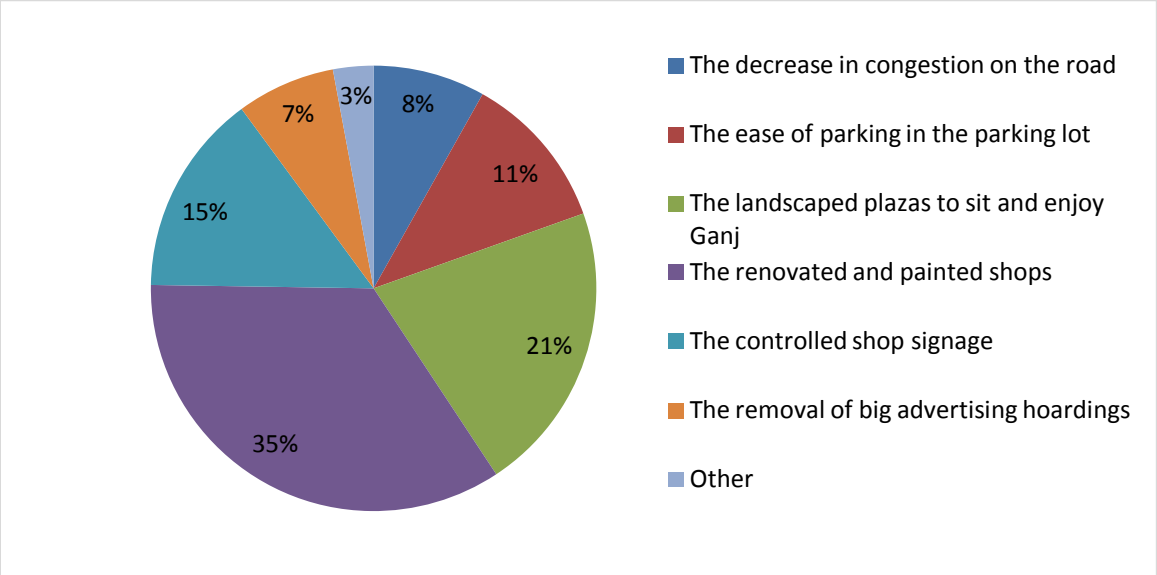


Figure 233: What has been the most important change in Hazratganj?
Source: On-site survey, April 2012.

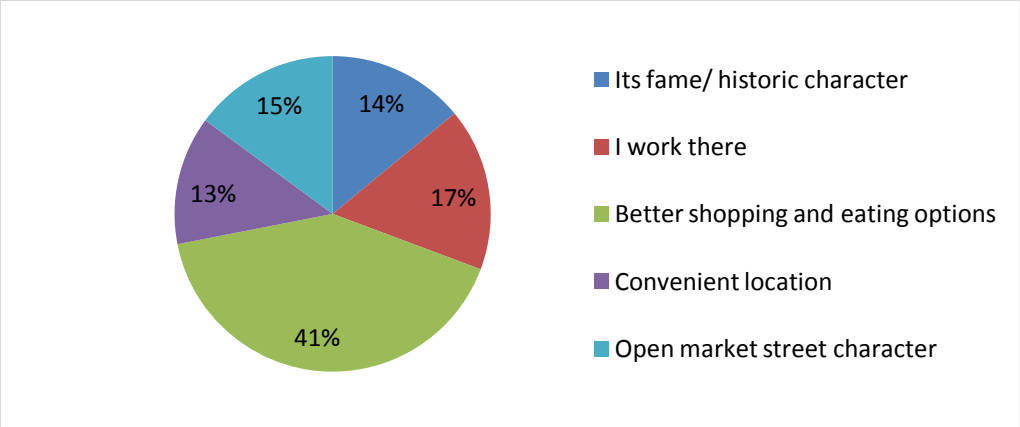


Figure 234: What are your reasons for preferring Hazratganj over malls?
Source: On-site survey, April 2012.

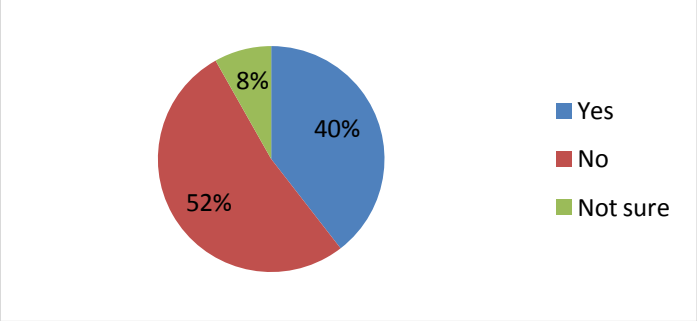


Figure 235: Have you heard of the Sibtainabad Imambara?
Source: On-site survey, April 2012.

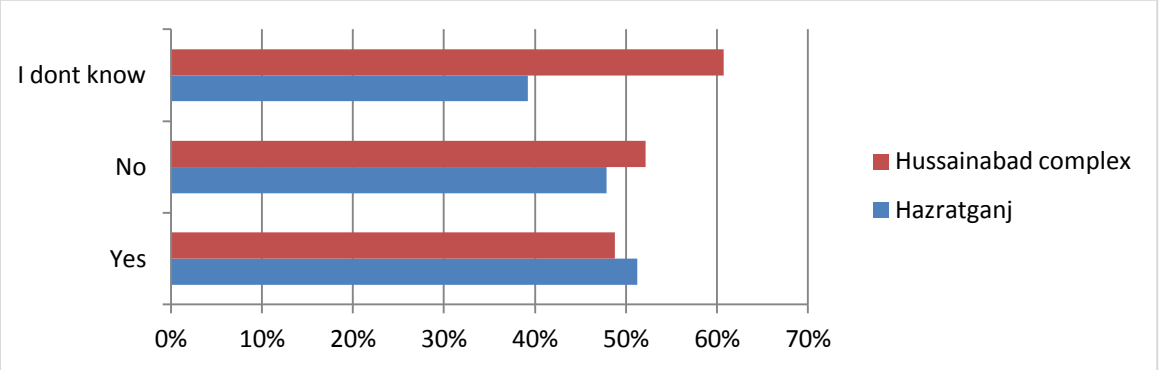


Figure 236: Breakdown of respondents by location of where they were when asked if they had heard of Sibtainabad Imambara.
Source: On-site survey, April 2012.

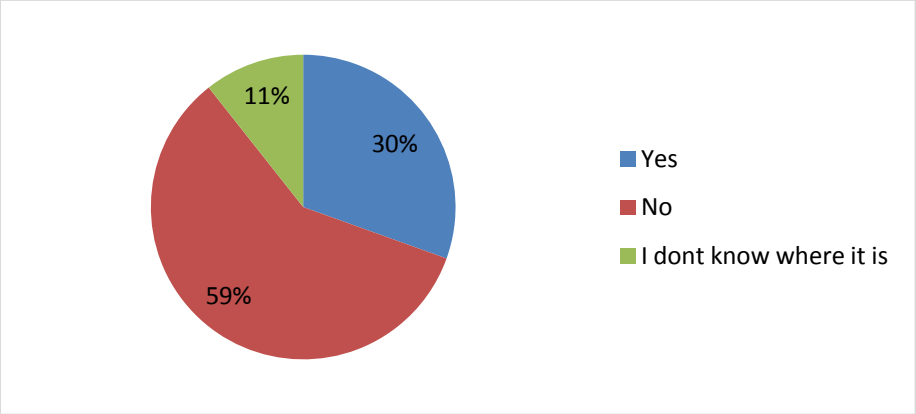


Figure 237: Have you ever visited the Sibtainabad Imambara.
Source: On-site survey, April 2012.

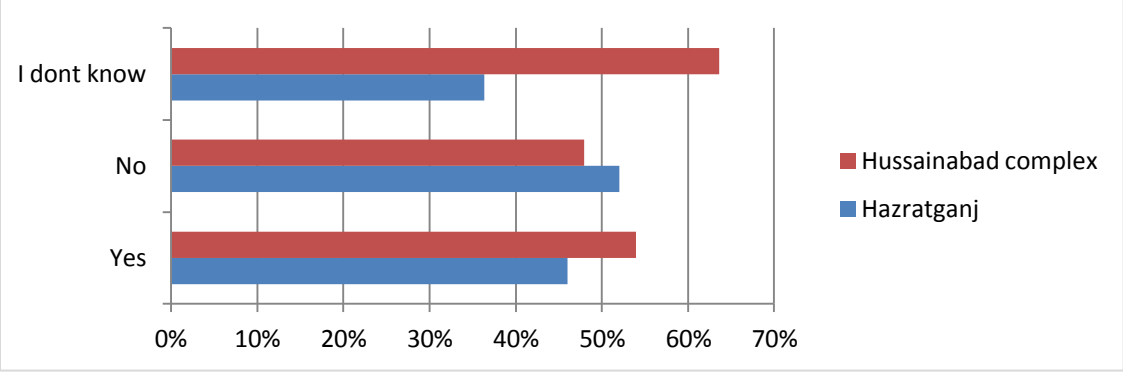


Figure 238: Breakdown of respondents by location of where they were when asked if they had visited Sibtainabad Imambara.
Source: On-site survey, April 2012.

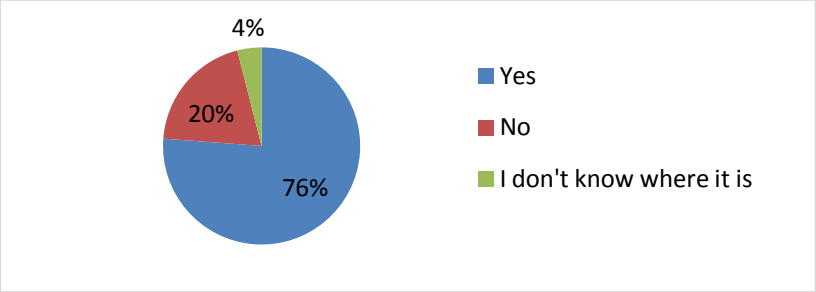


Figure 239: Analysis of respondents visiting the Imambara after indicating that they had heard of it.
Source: On-site survey, April 2012.

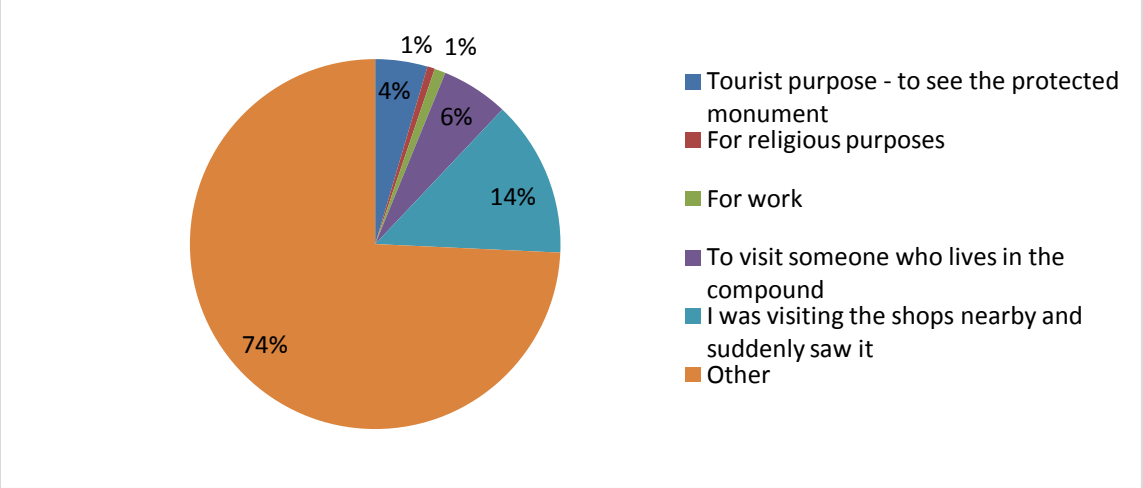


Figure 240: Respondents in Hazratganj were asked the primary reasons for their visit to Sibtainabad Imambara.
Source: On-site survey, April 2012.

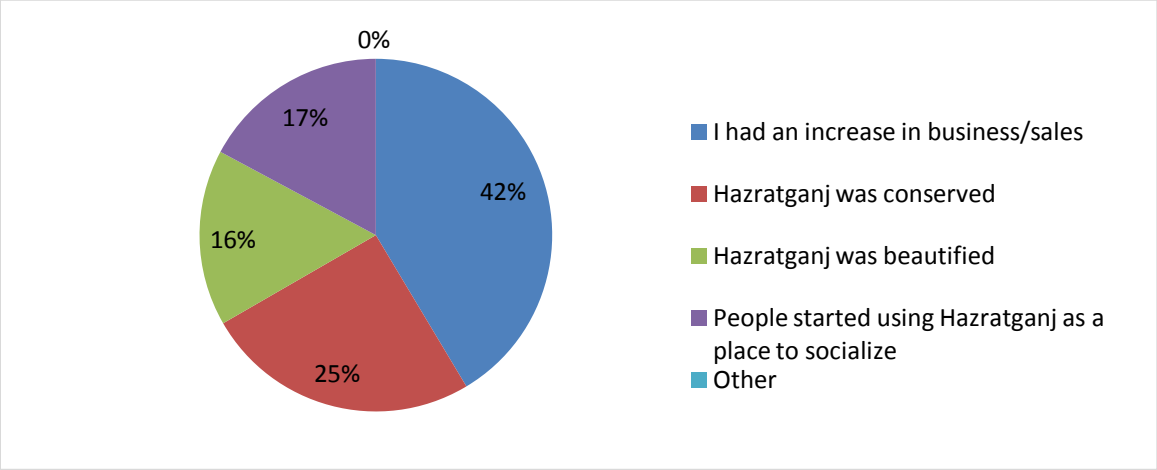


Figure 241: What was the biggest benefit for the traders after the project was complete?
Source: On-site survey, April 2013.

Summary of Heritage Management at Hazratganj

The success of any urban revitalization project is predicated on its post-completion management and maintenance. The project of revitalizing Hazratganj, though a remarkable example of public and private agencies coming together to execute an urban infrastructural project, has nevertheless been sadly lacking in management after the fact. The very idea of several stakeholders coming together to envision, manage and implement the project so successfully and in such a short period of time (about six to seven months), has led to confusion in the post-completion stage.

There has been some dissonance amongst the various stakeholders regarding the maintenance and upkeep of the precinct (Bhambhwani 2012; Asheesh Srivastava 2012b). The LMC was handed over the maintenance of the precinct by LDA upon completion of the project. The LMC, in turn, had anticipated maintaining the street through revenue generated from the new parking garage. Their initial plans were to clean Hazratganj twice a day in coordination with the traders, and fine anyone found littering the area (HT Correspondent 2011b). Low revenue generation and general mismanagement of the parking garage, however, coupled with congestion at its entry and exit points has yielded revenue lower than expected, leading to lapses in upkeep, maintenance and regular cleaning (*Times* News Network 2012a).

Figure 243 shows results from a survey conducted in April 2012 at Hazratganj. Despite the market street being a no-parking zone and the presence of a parking structure, only

24% of the 300 people surveyed make use of it. While the 44% indicating use of public transport is encouraging, the low parking figures most likely validate LMC's claim of low revenues from parking.

The LMC has had another point of view: laying the responsibility of the street's maintenance with the HTA. While the HTA members have taken up responsibility for maintaining and cleaning the areas immediately surrounding their individual businesses and stores, lack of any kind of policing and general public apathy has made their task difficult (*Times of India* 2011; Bhambhwani 2012). This tussle has resulted in a street that now exists in limbo. Continuation of such a situation will lead to gradual disintegration of the public spaces and walkways along the precinct, spaces that have had crores of rupees invested in them. The importance of maintaining the precinct, however, has not been lost on the public. In February 2011, several "Clean Hazratganj" drives were undertaken by city schools to spread awareness and get citizens to use the space more responsibly (Mullick 2011; HT Correspondent 2011d; HT Correspondent 2011c).

Several lessons can be learned in the aftermath of the Hazratganj revitalization project that could inform how such projects are managed in future. Unlike Husainabad and Kaiserbagh, Hazratganj as a historic landscape is not bound or protected by any existing heritage legislation. It can therefore benefit from a mechanism that not only lists and documents all its contributing resources, but can also protect them from future

demolition. There is also a need for the Imambara to play an integral role in the market street's historical narrative, and be included in its larger socio-cultural events, such as fairs and cultural events. The Imambara lawns (Figure 242) have the potential to host cultural events with the Imambara platform acting as a natural stage, such that Hazratganj could integrate with, and benefit from the presence of the complex. With both the *Waqf* Board and ASI involved from the start, such a mixed-use project can breathe new life into the cultural life currently missing in Hazratganj.

Culturally, today Hazratganj has little to offer. While auditoriums and large halls elsewhere in the city play host to cultural events throughout the year, Hazratganj lacks the one magnet that can really make it an interactive space and give it a new cultural dimension, and by extension ensure the historic street's longevity. Research has indicated that initial designs for the street's revitalization included creation of periodic and weekly cultural spaces to draw people's attention back to Hazratganj (Asheesh Srivastava 2012b; Prakash 2012). Unfortunately this has not been translated into actual events, despite the project's inauguration in early 2011. The only major cultural event that the street hosts (and has been hosting for several decades) is the annual Republic Day Parade, which received additional fillip in 2011, having taken place only a few days after the street's inauguration (*Times* News Network 2011b). This is a gap that can easily be filled by event planning, traffic management and the cooperation of HTA and city agencies.

Given the central location of the market street and its connectivity by various means of public transportation, it would be an ideal location for large cultural events like the *Lucknow Mahotsav* (Lucknow Festival) that is hosted by the city every year. It would also bring much-needed bonus revenue to existing traders by incorporating such mixed-use events at the venue. And, it would include the Sibtainabad Imambara within the market's cultural scope, giving the structure, publicity, and the Shia *Waqf* Board, revenue. Taking a cue from the sustained efforts seen during the project's execution, a multi-stakeholder cooperative process in its post-completion stage can take Hazratganj's development to the next stage and allow the market street to grow, without losing any more of its historic building stock.

Figure 242: The Sibtainabad Imambara during Eid celebrations.
Source: Mohammad Haider, *mutwalli* of the Imambara, 2011.

Another important lesson for the future management of the precinct is in traffic management, which was a major impetus for the project. A survey of visitors to the market conducted in 2012 revealed that a majority of them took public transportation

to get to Hazratganj (Figure 243). However, public transportation had no role in the entire urban revitalization project. Only private vehicles were taken into consideration, resulting in two large parking garages. There was no provision for bus stops and taxi stands along the entire stretch of the market street. This a major gap in not only project design, but also urban heritage development and management.

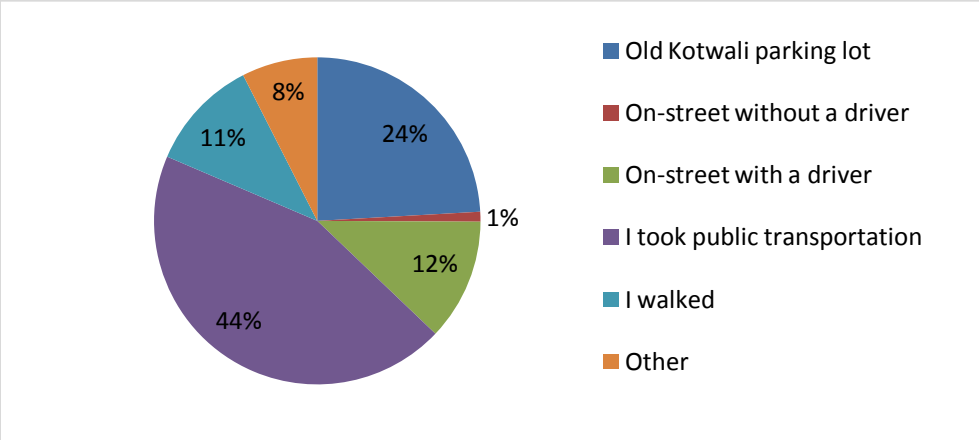


Figure 243: Where do you park your vehicle when you come to Hazratganj?
Source: On-site survey, 2012.

Hazratganj, like Husainabad and Kaiserbagh, has also illustrated many cognitive differences in the perception of cultural heritage. Most of the traders perceive Hazratganj as a public good. The difference lies in that the historic nature of the landscape and its propagation as a public good boosts the traders' economic gain by attracting more visitors and shoppers. Their perceptions are similar to those held by the members of *Connect Lucknow*, however with a slight difference. By promoting the historic landscape as an integral part of the city's history and developmental narrative, *Connect Lucknow* has attempted to boost economic activity with the aim of revitalization providing a kind of protection to the area, in the absence of government

protection. These views appear to be at variance to the perceptions by government agencies that have not propagated or protected the historic nature of the precinct, despite their participation in the public-private-partnership project. Consequently, these divergent cognitive perceptions of the site failed to account for the future of the landscape, though they came together to successfully implement the project.

IN CONCLUSION: THE MANY CHALLENGES OF MANAGING HAZRATGANJ

The project of revitalizing Hazratganj is a positive example of a PPP model and was timely in bringing attention to its inherent historicity and importance in Lucknow's social, cultural and architectural history, and the threat to these from developmental pressures. Over the past several years, the street has slowly been losing some of its original building stock to newer retail and commercial spaces. While the process of demolishing key structures of historic value along the street had begun as far back as the 1970s with Begum Kothi (Taqui 2011), more recent developments like the Ram Kumar Plaza, Tej Kumar Plaza, Best Western Hotel, and the Shalimar Complex have brought to light distinct dangers to Hazratganj's architectural and historical integrity. The biggest casualty of the revitalization project was the century-old *Kotwali* building, demolished to make way for a new parking structure (*Times* News Network 2010q).

Unless city-level developmental and management controls are implemented, the market street will remain susceptible to demolition leading to an erosion of its architectural character. On the other hand, lack of protection also made the

revitalization process easier for local agencies to implement, albeit purists have argued that without any heritage agencies being involved, several liberties were taken with creating a false sense of history by introducing landscape elements that did not exist before. The project was vital for a host of other reasons, one of which being the way in which the various agencies came together to successfully implement a project through the public-private partnership model.

CHAPTER 7: IN CONCLUSION

TOWARDS A HERITAGE MANAGEMENT PARADIGM FOR LUCKNOW

The management of heritage sites and the issues associated with it has been a part of the historic preservation and cultural heritage discourse for several years, especially in different Western contexts (Lush 2008; Chirikure 2010; MacKay 2010; Smith 2000; Smith 2003; Aas 2005; Godwin 2005; Harrison 1994; Messenger 2010; Aplin 2002; Pwiti 1996; Boswell 2011). In India, however this discussion has lacked the deserved attention with the exception of a few brief mentions in book chapters or articles (Greffe 2001; Chhabra 2012; Messenger 2010; Cleere 1989), and a small number of written texts wholly devoted to the topic (Tandon 2002; Tandon 2006; Pant 2012; S. Singh 1994). More focus has been directed toward issues of conservation and preservation. This thesis has demonstrated that while these issues are extremely important for sustaining historic sites and landscapes in the country, without proper heritage management they are nearly impossible to carry out. In most cases, heritage management is an afterthought, rather than the primary approach.

The goal of this dissertation has been to illustrate why emerging cities like Lucknow need a localized heritage management mechanism, and why that mechanism needs to be adjusted to each city, rather than simply be a sweeping set of legislation and regulations. Using the three case studies with a historical and contemporary narrative, it becomes clear that historic precincts are at continuous risk despite various 'owners'

(Husainabad), 'administrators' (Kaiserbagh), 'facilitators' (Hazratganj), and 'designators' (The ASI). Second, the owners, administrators, facilitators, and designators are, in turn, aided by varying levels of legislation and regulations. As each of the three precincts has shown, however, these regulations have been ineffectual, primarily due to lack of enforcement. Third, conventional and sweeping legislation and regulations that exist at the federal and state levels have only been effective in the physical preservation and restoration of historic structures. They have failed to holistically carry out urban heritage development (Husainabad) and urban revitalization (Kaiserbagh and Sibtainabad Imambara). The only precinct to successfully carry out a multi-stakeholder revitalization process was Hazratganj as outlined in Chapter 6. This chapter also showed how neither the ASI nor any other conventional heritage protection and designation system was directly involved in this project, allowing it to be integrated and executed in partnership with other city agencies.

So, what does this mean for urban heritage management in emerging Indian cities? Without doubt, the city of Lucknow comprises a unique and extraordinary built heritage that needs to be preserved and managed sustainably not only to benefit the sites/landscapes, but also their stakeholders. As a major cultural hub of the north, Lucknow has to preserve and maintain its vast and often-threatened architectural heritage, and carefully balance it with the increasingly growing urban demands of industry, housing, transportation and commerce. The city's fair share of *Imambaras, karbalas, baradaris, kothis*, *masjids, mahals, maqbaras*, bungalows, market streets,

madrasas, schools and civic buildings are constant reminders of its unique nawabi and colonial pasts. They, however, have not been immune to the pressures of urban development, especially when urban development initiatives have had political will.

The three historic landscapes discussed in detail highlight important facets of managing heritage sites and landscapes in an emerging city like Lucknow that has neither an ASI stronghold as seen in New Delhi, nor a local heritage commission as in Bombay. At Husainabad, decades of out-dated legislation and approaches taken by the ASI and the fiscally-motivated actions of the Husainabad and Allied Trust have led to irrevocable loss of historic integrity of the landscape, and continuous encroachments. At Kaiserbagh, years of negligence by the BIA and city agencies in enforcing the conditions of the *sanad,* and the ASI's quasi-protection of only the gates and the two mausoleums has left the landscape in limbo, on a path to slowly losing historic and architectural integrity at the hands of both residents and external encroachers. At Hazratganj, years of neglect by the city government, the traders and city planners led to a landscape where business was primary and heritage tertiary, at best. The 2010 revitalization project reversed this process to an extent but neglected to make any provisions for the site's future. In all three cases, the common factor has been an absence of integrated heritage management that ensures preservation, planning and enforcement through localized legislation and administration.

The management of historic sites and landscapes encompasses within it several objectives: conservation, preservation, research, education, urban/rural revitalization,

economic development, tourism development, use and reuse amongst others (Greffe 2001, 71). Owners and administrators in the three case studies discussed earlier have variously involved these objectives over time. In each case study, the stakeholders, both public and private, need to be part of an integrated system in the city to successfully administer, manage and preserve their historic precincts.

Based on the case studies, analysis and fieldwork, I propose the concept of a new urban heritage management system for the city of Lucknow. Figure 244 illustrates the concept, its elements (red) and their objectives (green). Husainabad, Kaiserbagh and Hazratganj have shown that carrying out these elements and their objectives in isolation can often be conflicting and lead to problems, not only because of the way in which the core values of the elements differ, but also because of those involved in carrying out each of the objectives. The case studies have also shown how cognitive values of culture and heritage amongst the various stakeholders begin to play an important role in the way in which sites are managed in the midst of such clashes. The urban heritage management system (UHMS), taking a multi-disciplinary approach, can bring together stakeholders, practitioners, government officials and the public within its ambit in order to execute the care, protection and management of historic urban landscapes with an aim to holistically sustain them for the future.

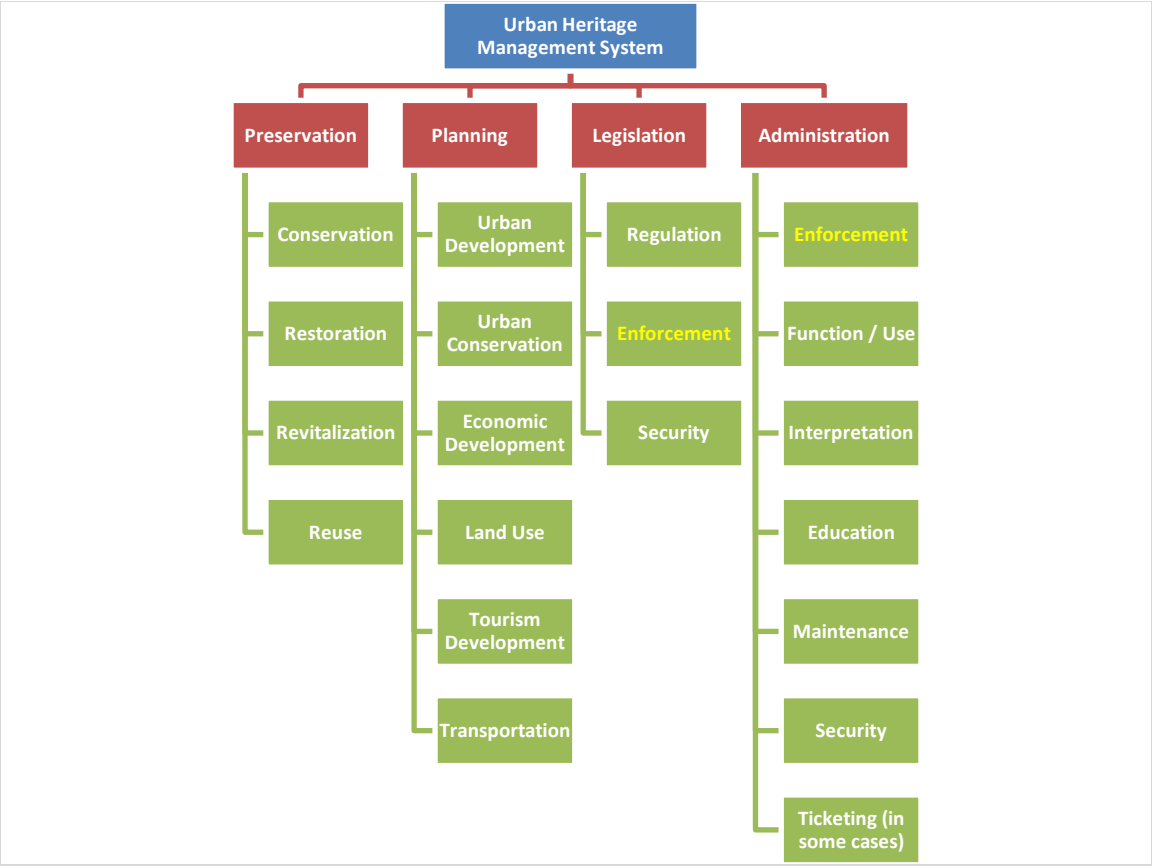


Figure 244: Hierarchy of elements for Urban Heritage Management System.
Source: Author, 2013.

Individualized UHM systems can be tools for urban areas in India to handle and manage historic urban landscapes that not only face threat from development but also internally, from their own situations and environments. The three case studies in this research have shown how, often, the biggest threat can be internal, through lack of: resources (the ASI), expertise (Husainabad and Allied Trust and British India Association) and legislation (Hazratganj). Each of the cases have shown how management of historic precincts is in dire need of a unified vision for the future in the form of cultural

governance (Schmitt 2009). The creation of a form of local cultural governance, the UHMS, can mitigate management problems in the future. This system could be accountable and responsible for the overall administration, protection, enforcement and maintenance of Lucknow's built historic resources, and can have the potential to avoid the conflicts that the various stakeholders of historic sites find themselves in today.

This system will need to be comprised of and liaise with key personnel from government agencies that are directly involved, such as the LDA and LMC, preservation professionals, representatives of primary stakeholders of historic resources (like the Husainabad and Allied Trust, the British India Association, the *Waqf* Boards) and several community members, who though not directly related, can see to the management, maintenance and enforcement of historic resources to ensure a sustained perpetuation of Lucknow's built heritage. This system will need to be more than a heritage commission that regulates historic sites and precincts in Indian cities (Chainani 2007b). It will need to coordinate and administer comprehensive management and protection of the historic sites and landscapes in the city by liaising with the different city agencies and site stakeholders.

It has been noted that an increase in historic sites in the West over the years has led to four types of problems in heritage management: (1) "a change in traditional management methods", (2) "a crisis in the management of human resources', (3) "a financial crisis" and (4) "an identity crisis" (Greffe 2001, 79). In Lucknow, however, all

four problems have arisen without an increase in historic sites. Here, an increase in historic sites denotes an increase in designated, protected or listed historic sites. As already seen in this research, the number of recognized historic resources in the city is and has been woefully inadequate. The UHM system could address the four problems identified above by changing not only the prevailing, traditional management methods in Lucknow but also by being able to manage human resources better. Most importantly, the UHM system would help mitigate the "identity crisis" associated with heritage management, especially as the three case studies have illustrated how cognitive differences between different stakeholders can lead to certain loss of identity for the historic site.

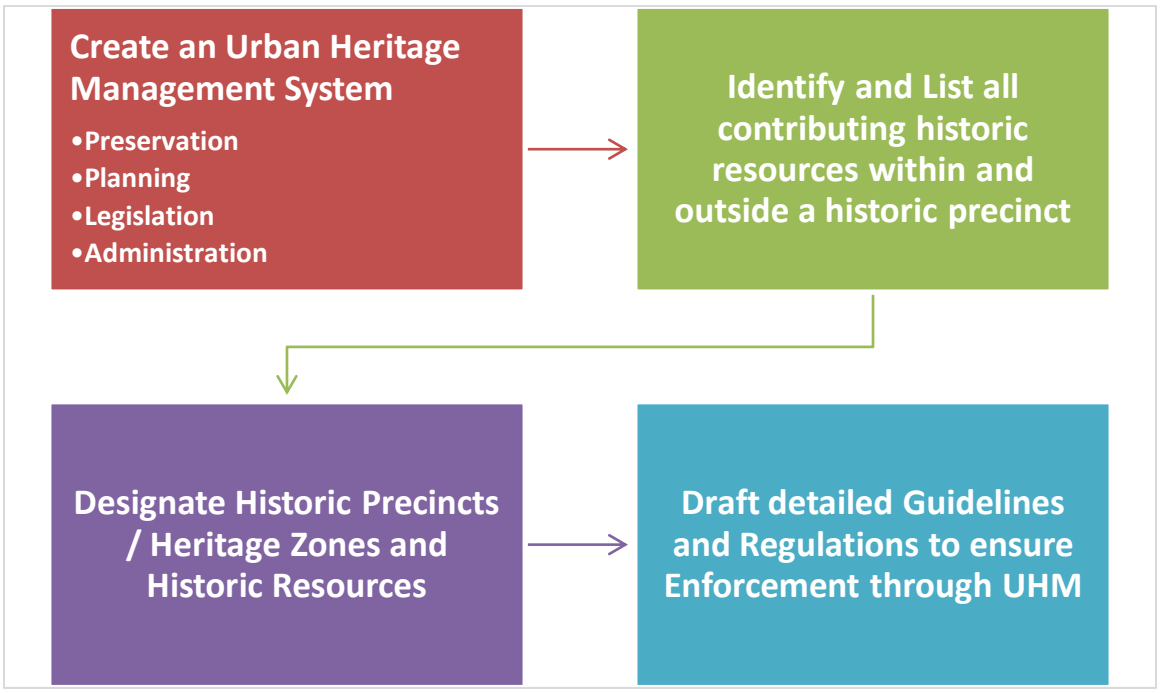


Figure 245: Schematic composition of UHM system.
Source: Author, 2013.

The primary objective of UHMS can also be to administer, manage and coordinate the various historic precincts/heritage zones that it identifies in Lucknow through its objectives of preservation, planning, legislation and administration (Figure 245). It would build on the work already done on the three Heritage Zones in the city. Currently, the Master Plan very inadequately identifies these: Husainabad, Kaiserbagh and La Martiniere (Figure 246). The Department of Town and Country Planning as well as its executing agency the Lucknow Development Authority that draft the Master Plan, do not employ any specialists in historic preservation and urban conservation. This has led to a distinct lack of enforcement in the three heritage zones, and often, misinformation among the city agencies.

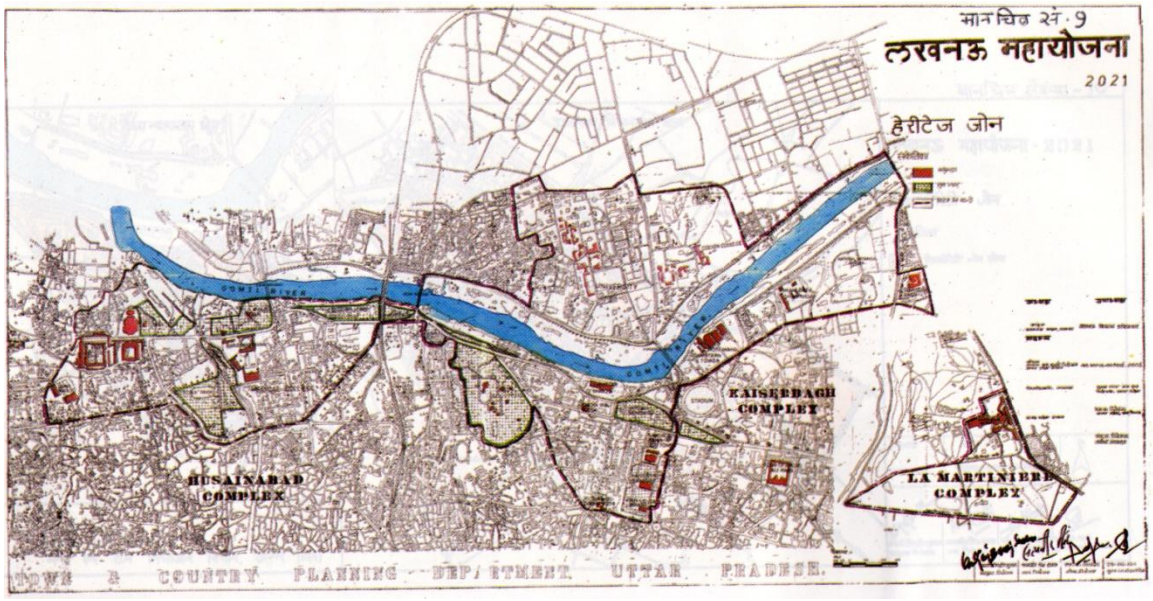


Figure 246: Heritage Zones in the Lucknow Master Plan 2021.
Source: Lucknow Development Authority, *Lucknow Master Plan 2021*, Department of Town and Country Planning, Government of Uttar Pradesh, Plate 9.

The system will also enable each Heritage Zone / Historic Precinct to be managed, administered and enforced more efficiently. One of the biggest complaints of the regional circles of the ASI in recent years, and in Lucknow, has been that they do not have enforcing powers locally unless the city or district administration takes action. The UHMS will be the answer to such a problem, and not only liaise with the ASI office to enforce the federal Act, but ensure enforcement of the city guidelines as well. A system like UHMS can ensure that the city government and heritage site managers in Lucknow can focus on revitalizing the reenergizing the historic built resources of Lucknow while ensuring their continued use and popularity.

This is by no means an alien concept. In 1885, surveyor JB Keith of the Archaeological Survey of India stressed the need for custom approaches to preservation in different parts of the country, and in 1900 the Archaeological Surveyors worked as consultants for provincial governments. For over one hundred years, isolatory, pan-Indian approaches have failed and continue to do so, as Husainabad, Kaiserbagh and Sibtainabad Imambara have shown. The city of Lucknow is now in a unique position of merging a hundred-year old idea with the contemporary (relative) success of Hazratganj to implement a system that work with and for the city's historic resources and precincts.

Looking Ahead

This research has shown the rich potential that cities like Lucknow have for putting safeguards in place that can effectively manage their historic urban landscapes. The

formulation and implementation of a local management mechanism like the UHMS in Lucknow, with pilot projects at Husainabad, Kaiserbagh and Hazratganj can be the first step that comes out of this study. I hope to take this research to the next stage by advocating for first, the listing and documentation of contributing resources in each of the three landscapes, and second, in the rest of the city. Due to time constraints and logistical considerations, however, this research examined only three historic landscapes out of several more that exist in Lucknow. Identification and listing of these and other kinds of historic resources in the city will form the essential preliminary database on which the UHMS, and its successful implementation would be based. Another element overlooked in this research is the voice of the actual residents of these historic precincts, especially those that are not represented by the stakeholders involved. While this study was restricted to the stakeholder involvement in management, the resident opinions are also important for the administration of historic precincts. Those would need to be addressed in the future.

Another element that was beyond the scope of this research was an examination of other emerging cities in India where the UHMS could be adapted according to local conditions of governance, administration, legislation and enforcement. This would be a crucial application of the UHMS model, based on a study similar to the one done in this research, where management patterns are first identified, analyzed and then amalgamated within a local management mechanism.

This research has also only briefly alluded to the presence of the political will in proposing and implementing revitalization projects. While this was, again, beyond the scope of this research and its focus on management, future studies could also explore the role of politics (federal, state and local) in city governance in India. The political dynamics, similar to the kinds of management ones examined in this research, will vary across cities and states, and future work would need to factor that into the analysis. In Lucknow, political will was able to significantly alter the urban landscape with the insertion of large-scale monumental edifices, impacting not only how the city functions but also how it perceives heritage. Such relationships, though beyond the scope of this research, can have a significant impact on historic landscapes, their perception and their use. Such processes would be important to examine, especially in relation to their impact (physical and otherwise) on historic resources to further test the efficacy of local heritage management mechanisms like the UHMS.

The management and administration of historic precincts in urban India therefore have significant avenues still left to be explored. In Lucknow's context, the UHMS provides an optimistic future for the city's built heritage and it is hoped that it can significantly alter how the city views and manages its historic precincts. This multi-disciplinary endeavour can alter the way in which cities like Lucknow function, and make the preservation and promotion of historic sites and precincts a vital element of the city governance amd development agenda in India.

APPENDIX A : OBJECTS OF ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST IN NWP & OUDH

Composite List compiled from List I(A), I(B), II(A), II(B), III

Name of place	Kind of building	Distance and direction from large village, town, tehsil or thana	Condition of remains	Already photographed or not	Style and Date	Material of construction	Present use	Remarks
Chattar Manzil	A place for queens	Thana Ganeshganj	In good preservation; partly to ruins.	Photograph	Muhammadan architecture	Pucca bricks and lime	As public offices and clubs	Was built by King Nasir-ud-din Hyder. It consists of a number of very handsome and lofty buildings on the right bank of the Gomti.
Lal Baradari	Throne-room	Thana Ganeshganj	In good preservation; partly to ruins.	Photograph	Muhammadan architecture	Stone lime and red plaster	For holding durbars	From the time of Saadat Ali Khan all coronations took place in this hall. It is maintained by Government.
Kaisar Pasand	Dwelling	Thana Ganeshganj	In good preservation.	Photograph	Muhammadan architecture	Pucca bricks and lime	Deputy-Commissioner's office	This building belonged to Roshan-ud-daula, Prime Minister of King Nasir-ud-din Hyder but Wajid Ali Shah took possession of it. The interior was originally decorated sumptuously; the exterior has still a very palatial appearance. This building is kept up by the Government.
Residency	Ruins							Repairs recommended; cost debitable to *Nazul*
Sikundra Bagh								Repairs recommended; cost debitable to *Nazul*
Imambara, Fort Macchi Bhawan	Tomb	Thana Daulatganj	In good preservation.	Photograph	Muhammadan architecture	Solid Masonry	Military gun shed and ordnance store	This great Imambara was built by Nawab Asaf-ud-daula. It is pronounced to be the architectural gem of the city; its minarets are the tallest and handsomest and it is the most massive structure in Lucknow. Its contains no woodwork.
Mosque, Fort Macchi Bhawan	Mosque	Thana Daulatganj	In good preservation.	Photograph	Muhammadan architecture	Pucca bricks and lime.	Military gun shed and ordnance store	This is within outer enclosure of Fort Macchi Bhawan
Rumi Darwaza, Fort Macchi Bhawan	Gateway	Thana Daulatganj	In good preservation.	Photograph	Model of an archway now standing in Constantinople	Pucca bricks and lime.		Was built by Nawab Asaf-ud-daula.
Husainabad Imambara	Tomb	Thana Daulatganj	In good order.	Photograph	Muhammadan architecture	Marble and lime	Held sacred by all Muhammadans	Here like the remains of Muhammad Ali Shah, King of Oudh, and grand-father of the ex-King. The remains of Muhammad

								Ali Shah's mother lie by his side. There are ornamental gardens, tanks, miniature bridges, wall (and archways), lofty and gigantic superstructures. This Imambara has a large endowment vested in Government 4 per cent. It is the grandest oriental building in the city of Lucknow.
House of late Nawab Amjad Ali Khan	Tomb	Thana Daulatganj	In good order.	Photograph	Muhammadan architecture	Marble and lime		There is a beautiful little mosque of white marble within the enclosure
Durgah Hazrat Abbas	Mosque	Thana Daulatganj	In good repair.	Photographed	Muhammadan architecture	Marble and lime	Held sacred by all Muhammadans	This building was built by Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. It preserves its original beauty.
Kazmain Sharf-ud-daula	Tomb	Thana Daulatganj	In good order.	Photograph	Muhammadan architecture	Marble and lime	Held sacred by all Muhammadans	Was built by Sharf-Ud-daula, deputy vazir, in commemoration of his conversion from Hinduism to Muhammadanism.
Karballa at Tal Katora	Model tombs of Hassan and Husain	Thana Daulatganj	In good order.	Photograph	Muhammadan architecture	Pucca bricks and lime.	Held sacred by all Muhammadans	Here the Muhammadans bury their Tazias at the Mohurram festival.
Aurangzeb-ka-mosque at Lacchman Tila	Mosque	Thana Daulatganj	In good order.	Photograph	Muhammadan architecture	Pucca bricks and lime.		It is of some importance, since it marks the mound, originally called Lachman Tila around which the city of Lucknow sprang up.
Kaddam Rasul	Shrine	Thana Ganeshganj	In a ruinous state	Photographed	Muhammadan architecture	Pucca bricks and lime.		This was built by King Ghazi-ud-din Hyder. It stands on the summit of a mound. It contained a stone said to bear the foot-print of the prophet Muhammad, which stone had been stone during the mutiny.
Shah Najaf	Tomb	Thana Ganeshganj	In good preservation.	Photographed	Muhammadan architecture	Pucca bricks and lime.		Built by King Ghazi-ud-din Hyder for the internment of his own remains. It is repaired from a fund left by the King.
Tomb of Saadat Ali Khan	Tomb	Thana Ganeshganj	In good preservation	Photographed	Muhammadan architecture	Pucca bricks and lime.		The spot on which those tombs now stand was formerly occupied by a house in which Ghazi-ud-din Hyder, son of Saadat-Ali Khan, resided. When the son ascended the throne, he destroyed his former abode and built on the site these
Tomb of Saadat Ali Khan's wife	Tomb	Thana Ganeshganj	In good preservation	Photographed	Muhammadan architecture	Pucca bricks and lime.		

								mausoleums.
Kaiserbagh Baradari	A palace of grandeur	Thana Ganeshganj	Partly in ruins	Photographed	Muhammadan architecture	Was commenced in 1850	Made over to the *taluqdars* of Oudh	Was built by the ex-King Wajid Ali Shah at a cost of more than a million sterling. The palace provided quarters for upwards of a thousand mahals or queens. Several of the quarters are now roofless.

LEGEND

Color	Corresponding List	Description
	I(A)	Monuments which from their present condition and Historical or Archaeological significance ought to be maintained in permanent good repair
	I(B)	Monuments which it is now only possible or desirable to save from further decay by minor measures
	II(A)	Monuments in possession or charge of government or in respect of which Government must undertake cost of all measures of conservation
	II(B)	Monuments in possession of private bodies or individuals
	III	Monuments which, from their advances stage of decay or comparative unimportance, it is impossible or unnecessary to preserve

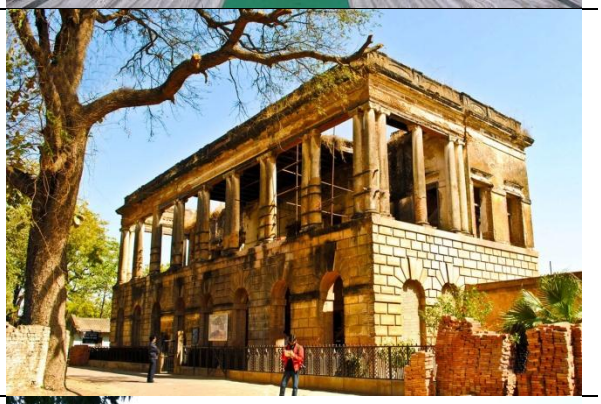
(Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1886a)

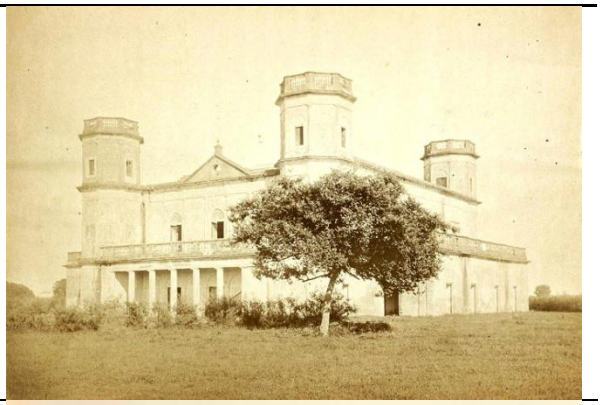
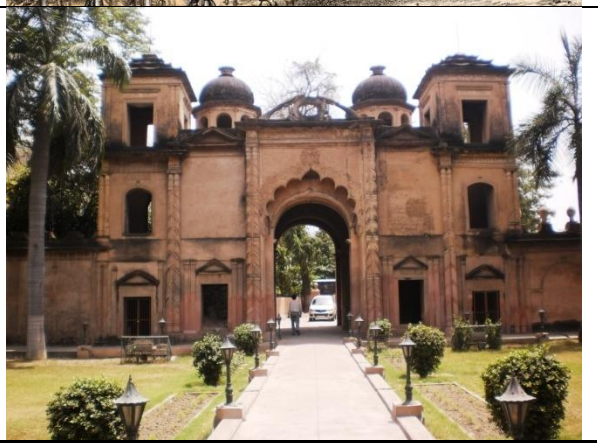
APPENDIX B : CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF NAWABI RULERS OF LUCKNOW

Popular Name	Birth	Reign	Death
Burhan ul Mulk Sa'adat Khan	1680	1722–1739	1739
Abul-Mansur Khan Safdar Jung	1708	1737–1754	1754
Shuja-ud-Daula	1732	1754–1775	1775
Asaf-ud-Daula	1748	1775–1797	1797
Wazir Ali Khan	1780	1797–1798	1817
Saadat Ali Khan II	1752	1798–1814	1814
Abul-Muzaffar Ghazi-ud-din Haidar Khan	1769	1814–1827	1827
Nasir-ud-din Haidar Shah Jahan	1827	1827–1837	1837
Muhammad Ali Shah	1777	1837–1842	1842
Amjad Ali Shah	1801	1842–1847	1847
Wajid Ali Shah	1822	1847–1856	1887
Begum Hazrat Mahal	-	-	1879
Birjis Qadr	-	1845–1893	1893

APPENDIX C : LIST OF BUILDINGS IN LUCKNOW RECOMMENDED FOR PRESERVATION AND COMMEMORATION, 1901

S.No	Name of Building as in the list	Status today	Image
1	The Lal Baradari	*Offices and Art Gallery for the Lalit Kala Akademi*	
2	The Khursheed Manzil	*Main offices for the La Martiniere Girls School*	
3	The Moti Mahal	*Demolished over time*	

4	Banks Bungalow (Hayat Baksh Kothi)	*Governor's Bungalow today*	
5	The Shah Najaf	*In active use for worship*	
6	The Bibiapur Palace	*Ruins protected and maintained by ASI*	
7	Dilkusha	*Ruins protected and maintained by ASI*	

8	The Alam Bagh	*Demolished*	
9	The Farhat Baksh	*Still existing next to the larger Chattar Manzil building*	
10	The Musah Bagh	*Ruins protected and maintained by ASI*	
11	The Sikandar Bagh	*Ruins protected and maintained by ASI*	

12	The Badshah Bagh	*In a neglected condition*	
13	Tara Kothi	*Used as State Bank of India for over one hundred years*	
14	The Kokrail Bridge		No image available.

(Government of North-Western Provinces and Oudh 1901)

APPENDIX D : NOTIFICATION FOR AMASR 2010 AMENDMENT

प्रत्नकीर्तिमपावृणु

Government of India

Archaeological Survey of India

Lucknow Circle, Lucknow

Issued in Public Interest

Government of India has issued Gazette Notification No. 13, dated March 30, 2010 on '**The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Amendment & Validation) Act, 2010**' after the Parliament of India passed it. This Act amends 'The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act, 1958' (both the Acts are available at www.asi.nic.in).

The purpose of this Act is to preserve and protect our heritage, and it reflects the government's determination to ensure that **no construction, including public projects, takes place within the prohibited areas around the monuments of national importance.**

The Act specifies the beginning from the boundary limit of the centrally protected area or centrally protected monument, a minimum of 100 metres as the '**prohibited area**', beyond which, in all directions, a minimum of 200 metres has been specified as the '**regulated area**'. These limits can be further extended having regard to classification of any monument or protected area.

No construction, whatsoever, including any public project, will be permitted in the prohibited areas of the protected monuments and the permission for construction or reconstruction activities in regulated areas shall be governed by heritage bye laws.

The Amendment Act defines 'construction' and 'reconstruction' to avoid any ambiguity in interpretation. The Act also defines the terms 'repair and renovation' which means alterations to a pre-existing structure or building, but shall not include 'construction' or 'reconstruction'.

Applications seeking permissions for repair and renovation in the prohibited areas and regulated areas shall be made before the respective Competent Authority who will be nominated by the government in due course. For construction or reconstruction, only in the regulated areas (i.e. not in the 'prohibited area'), the request could also be made to the same authority. In this context, the Act also provides for constitution of **National Monument Authority** which will consider all the cases referred to it by the Competent Authority for its final recommendation to finally dispose off such requests accordingly.

The construction activities shall remain frozen till the Competent Authorities are specified, National Monument Authority constituted and Heritage bye laws framed.

The legislation provides for identification of all unauthorized structures that may have come up in the prohibited and regulated areas since June, 1992 (when the notification of prohibited/regulated areas was published) and action will be taken against all such unauthorized structures or buildings, as per provisions of the Act.

The quantum of punishment to be meted out to the violators has been reviewed and made more stringent **raising three months' imprisonment to two years and fine of five thousands rupees to one lakh rupees, or both.**

Every citizen is, therefore, requested to extend his full co-operation in implementing the provisions of the aforesaid Act so that our precious heritage could be preserved for posterity.

Superintending Archaeologist

Archaeological Survey of India, Lucknow Circle, CGO complex, Ninth Floor, Sec-'H', Aliganj, Lucknow. Ph. 0522-2328220, 2323904, Email-circleluc.asi@gmail.com.

For detailed clarification, please contact our sub circle offices at Lucknow I- 0522-2256336, II- 2208230, III- 9452051139, Kanpur-0512-2305831, Allahabad-0532-2656234, Mahoba-05281-254047, Lalitpur-05176-275761, Jhansi-0510-2442325, Faizabad-05278-242492, Sravasti- 05252-265246, Banda-9005232160.

APPENDIX E : KAISERBAGH *SANAD*

4 June 1866

Whereas His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India, in Durbar held at the Palace of Lal Baradari in Lucknow on the 5th day of November 1861, was pleased to bestow on the native *taluqdars* of Oudh the right, title and interest in the lands, buildings and gardens of the Kaiserbagh Palace, therefore I, James A Steel, officiating Deputy Commissioner of Lucknow, do by order of the Commissioner, Lucknow Division conveyed in his Docket no.1368, dated 7th June 1865, give this *sanad* to Raja [Name], *taluqdar*, for that portion of the Kaiserbagh Palace now held and repaired by him, that it may be known to all that the said portion of the Kaiserbagh situated in the city of Lucknow, consisting of [Area] of land, and described within the limits fixed in plan hereto annexed, has been given to the said Raja [Name], his heirs and successors to his taluqa on the condition that he and his heirs keep and preserve the said portion of the Kaiserbagh Palace, gardens, lands in thorough repairs; and that he and his heirs be subject to whatever municipal rules and regulations that may from time to time be passed for the city of Lucknow. It is also a condition of the gift that no *taluqdar* shall transfer his share in the buildings and appurtenances thereto to any one not a *taluqdar*. Should the Raja or his successors be unmindful of their obligations and allow the buildings and gardens appertaining thereto or any portion of them to fall out of repairs or into neglect, the gift will be resumed by Government in whole or in part.

In witness whereof I have set my hand and seal of my court this fourth day of June in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty six.

JAMES A STEEL,

Officiating Deputy Commissioner

[COURT SEAL]

(Ali 2012a; Government of United Provinces 1933; Asheesh Srivastava 2012a)

APPENDIX F : RULES FOR THE REPAIR ETC OF THE KAISER BAGH BUILDINGS, LUCKNOW AND FOR THEIR DISPOSAL IN CASE OF RESUMPTION BY GOVERNMENT

1. When the annual report on the condition of the buildings in the Kaiserbagh is prepared, the District Engineer should note under each set of quarters the total roughly estimated cost of repairs.
2. After approval by the Commissioner of Lucknow, one copy of the plan and estimate will be sent by the Commissioner to the *taluqdar* concerned through the local authorities with the request:
    a. That the amount of the estimate be deposited in the treasury within a week, or
    b. That the repairs in question be carried out by the *taluqdar* himself within a time fixed by the Commissioner.
3. If the money is deposited, the repairs will be carried out by the Department of Public Works, without charge for the establishment etc.
4. If the money is not deposited, and the *taluqdar* does not complete the repairs to the satisfaction of the Commissioner within the time fixed, the matter will be reported to Government, and a notice will be issued to the *taluqdar* requiring him to show cause why the building should not be resumed by the Government.
5. In the absence of adequate explanation the grant of the building will be resumed.

(Government of United Provinces 1927)

APPENDIX G : BIA LETTER

On 11 March 2002 a newspaper published a notice prohibiting the use of the baradari as a venue for weddings. This is not acceptable. Last year LDA had raised the issue of having weddings in the Baradari. LDA does not have full knowledge of the condition and state of Baradari. Additionally State government spoke about declaring Kaiserbagh a "Heritage Zone", thus insulting the rights of BIA and the *Taluqdars* that stay here. As a result BIA submitted a writ petition in the High Court, High Court asked for "status quo" to be maintained and this is still in effect. An incorrect and false notification has also been published in the newspaper on 8 March 2002 regarding a meeting convened by BIA. BIA did not have any such meeting on 8 March. The news report of baradari bringing in crores in revenue is also false. The organization of weddings at Baradari has been happening for several years and continues to do so. The mention of baradari as an Imambara is also false and made-up. BIA is a charitable trust and its activities are done accordingly.

(BIA Office 2012)

APPENDIX H : KAISERBAGH HERITAGE ZONE NOTIFICATION 1998/1999

[Translated from Hindi]

The buildings, parks and properties of the Kaiserbagh area in Lucknow have been declared as the Kaiserbagh Heritage Zone and administrative and financial sanction of Rs. 1.43 crores has been given for the project of LDA for improvement and maintenance of the buildings, parks and properties of the Kaiserbagh area vide GO No.2089-41/98/173/98 dated 14/10/98. The item wise details are enclosed:

1. The beautification of the Saadat Ali Maqbara had previously been done by the LDA as an implementation agency in 1997-98 at a cost of Rs 50 lakh by getting railings constructed. Further work could not be commenced because of encroachments and illegal occupation of the parks around the Baradari.
2. Begum Hazrat Mahal Park opposite the Maqbara of Saadat Ali had previously been renovated but has fallen into disrepair because of frequent rallies and public functions being held there. Now once again rallies have been banned in Begum Hazrat Mahal Park. Hence a project for the beautification, planting of trees and flowers and landscape work has been commissioned by Professor M.Shaheer, Head of Department of the Landscape Department of the School of Planning & Architecture, New Delhi, at a cost of Rs. 53 lakhs and which is likely to take 18 months to complete.
3. On the other side of the Maqbara of Saadat Ali, on almost 38000 sq ft of open space had been encroached and a makeshift market known as the Nixon Market was being operated. Consequently the entry to this important Kaiserbagh Heritage Zone was not looking attractive. After prolonged and lengthy discussions with the owners of the shops in Nixon Market and the representatives of the Associations a resolution to this problem has been arrived at wherein all these shops are to be moved to approximately 22000sq ft in the Old RTO Complex at La touché Road and almost 200 shopkeepers are to be provided separate plots for shops amounting to 24000sq ft. Thus almost 45000sq ft have been earmarked for their rehabilitation. Now this huge plot of land is available for development within the Kaiserbagh Heritage Zone at an estimated cost of Rs.50lakhs which will be borne by LDA.
4. All encroachments have been removed from the Kaiserbagh Baradari parks and rehabilitated elsewhere and the Concept Plan prepared by INTACH is going to be implemented by the Tourism Department at an estimated cost of Rs.142 lakhs which is going to be borne by the Tourism Department.
5. Similarly the project of beautification, construction of water fountains, water bodies and laying gardens in the areas and parks around the Baradari in the Kaiserbagh Heritage Zone Begum Hazrat Mahal Park, and the area vacated by the Nixon Market is going to commence today.
6. We are indebted to honorable Justice SHA Raza for having consented to preside over this function.
7. When the Sarojini Naidu Park, stadium, Laxmanji Park, Begum Hazrat Mahal Park, Saadat Ali Khan Maqbara, Globe Park, Parivartan Chowk, Kaiserbagh Baradari and the program areas are fully developed as a green area then such a large, beautiful and scenic green area in the heart of the city will not be found in any other city than Lucknow.

(BIA Office 2012)

APPENDIX I : NARRATIVE OF THE GIFT OF KAISERBAGH

By Khan Bahadur Sheikh Siddiqui Ahmad Sahib, M.B.E., Assistant Secretary, British India Association - Avadh, pages 52-59. *[Translated from Hindi]*

Atiya (gift) Kaiserbagh

Maharaja Maan Singh Sahib informed the *Taluqdars* at a function in November 1861 that Viceroy, Governor General and Chief Commissioner Lord Canning want to give the building Kaiserbagh to you for your residence here. Hence when Governor General Lord Canning came here the last time, he bestowed the buildings at Kaiserbagh vide royal decree to the *Taluqdars* with the intention that when the members of the Anjuman come to Lucknow they can reside there and meet the rulers and apprise them of their requirements and give them their updates.

Thereafter at a function on 14 November 1862, a missive of the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner Major Reed Sahib was presented that the buildings at Kaiserbagh which were bestowed to the *Taluqdars* by Lord Canning are now vacant, and since all the *Taluqdars* are now present, hence Chief Commissioner Sahib considers it appropriate to give possession of the buildings at Kaiserbagh to the *Taluqdars*. Hence it will be appropriate for you to nominate a few members of the Anjuman so that they may present themselves in the service of the Chief Commissioner Sahib.

Consequently the following *Taluqdars* presented themselves in the service of Chief Commissioner Sahib so that they could take possession of the buildings at Kaiserbagh:

1. Raja Krishna Dutt Ram Pandey Sahib
2. Chaudhary Sarfaraz Ahmad Sahib
3. Chaudhary Hashmat Ali Sahib
4. Raja Hanumant Singh Sahib
5. Babu Ajit Singh Sahib
6. Sayyed Nawab Ali Khan Sahib

At a function on 22nd November 1862 the Secretary of the Anjuman stated that on behalf of the committee the Chief Commissioner was informed that some *Taluqdars* will present themselves in your service to take possession of the buildings at Kaiserbagh. But His Excellency himself stated that he will attend the function of the Anjuman on 22nd November 1862 at 4pm to handover the buildings at Kaiserbagh to the *Taluqdars*. Thus at 4pm Chief Commissioner Sahib Bahadur together with Colonel Abbot Sahib Commissioner Lucknow, Major Reed Sahib Secretary, and Captain Demont Sahib, whom the Anjuman had invited, were face to face with the Chief Commissioner Sahib who said the following:

You are aware that in Nov 1961, Nawab Lord Canning Viceroy and Governor General of the Indian Empire had in memory bestowed Kaiserbagh on you. But for certain reasons these orders were not complied with. Now in compliance of those orders these buildings are being bestowed on you for your possession. We hope that in the memory of His Excellency the Lord Sahib you will try to maintain, preserve and ensure cleanliness of these buildings.

Thereafter Colonel Abbot said that the Late Lord Canning, Viceroy and Governor General of the Indian Empire had a special place in his heart for the whole of India in general and for the province of Avadh in particular and his demise has left us all heartbroken. After this at a function at the Lal Baradari on 25th February 1864 the gift deed of Kaiserbagh was presented. The Governor General Bahadur of the Indian Empire bestowed upon the *Taluqdars* of Awadh the buildings and lawns of Kaiserbagh. I, Chief Commissioner of the province of Awadh hand over the deed.

Everyone is informed that Kaiserbagh, Lucknow , area 30 acres, one road and 11 poles as per the maps and plans were deeded to *Taluqdars* and their heirs and Taluqa with the proviso that they will maintain and preserve the buildings, gardens and all properties of Kaiserbagh and allow the use of the road as before, keep the area as clean as other areas of the city of Lucknow and the *Taluqdars* will ensure that they do not will or transfer the properties of Kaiserbagh to any person who is not a *taluqdar* or an heir of a *Taluqdar*. If the *Taluqdars* do not adhere to the conditions of the Shariat or preserve the buildings of Kaiserbagh then the Government will confiscate the same.

The subject of division of the buildings of Kaiserbagh was presented at a function on 5th December 1862 where Maharaja Sahib Balrampur, President and Maharaja Maan Singh Sahib Vice President of the Anjuman divided the properties such that the Eastern portion of Kaiserbagh was given to *Taluqdar* of Faizabad, the southern portion was secured for the use of Canning College and the remaining portions was given to the *Taluqdar* of Banswara, and the south west portion of the house was given to Babu Dukhranjan Mukerjee the *Taluqdar* of Banswara, the western property was given to *Taluqdar* of Lucknow and the northern portion of Kaiserbagh to the *Taluqdar* of Faizabad and the office of the Anjuman was kept in the Raees Manzil in the northern part. The remaining northern portions were kept so that they could be divided later on the request of the *Taluqdars*, and the stone Baradari was kept for the events of the Anjuman. Other buildings were also secured and it was decided to use the gardens. The present state of Kaiserbagh has altered considerably.

The Northern Line

Besides the Raees Manzil, this northern side had the properties of Seth Sitaram Munshi Fazal Rasool, *Taluqdar* Jalalpur, Raja Sahib Nanpara, Raja Sahib Maheba, Raja Sahib Payagpur, Raja Sahib Batesar, Ghulam Abbas, Taluqdar Rasauli, Birvar Singh and Raja Sahib Surajpur. These had been completely dug up for the plans of Canning College.

The Eastern Line

The eastern line housed the properties of Maharaja Balrampur, Kisan Dutt Ram Pandey, *Taluqdar* Singhachand. This house was given to Maharaja Sahib Kapoorthala. There were also the properties of Raja Sahib Sumeri, Chandika Bux, *Taluqdar* Hathaura, Raja Sahib Harha, and Raja Maan Singh and Canning College was in Raja Mann Singh's house.

The Southern Line

In the Southern Line there were the properties of Choudhary Sarfaraz Ahmad, *Taluqdar* Subeha, Raja Sahib Amethi, Raja Sahib Chandapur, Raja Sahib Khajurgaon, Raja Sahib Pakraha, Raja Sahib Kalankakar, Raja Sahib Kurri Sudauli, Raja Sahib Tarwal, Raja Sahib Bahadur Tiloi and Babu Dukhranjan Mukerjee.

The Western Line

In the Southern Line there were the properties of Mirza Ahmad Beg, *Taluqdar* of Kutubnagar, Sheikh Inamullah, *Taluqdar* Saidanpur, Mirza Abbas Beg, *Taluqdar* Bada Gaon, Choudhary Nawab Ali Khan, *Taluqdar* Salimpur Tajjamul Hussain Khan, *Taluqdar* Bhatwamau Rai Uvram Bali, *Taluqdar* Dariyabad Chaudhary Hashmat Ali, *Taluqdar* Sandila, Raja Sahib Mahmudabad, Mohd. Abid and Chaudhary Hussain Baksh, Captain Fida Hussain Mohammad Hussain Collector Sheikh Jainul Avadeen *Taluqdar* Gadiya, Abdul Ali and Raja Sahib Oyal.

When the properties of Canning College were vacated they were given to those *taluqdars* whose properties had been taken when the establishment of Canning College was initiated. Some properties were sold and had been bought by other *Taluqdars* while some properties had been taken back because of bad maintenance and given to other *Taluqdars*.

Thus the present division of the Kaiserbagh properties is as follows:-

The Eastern Line

Kothi 1. Raja Sahib Payagpur
Kothi 2. Anjuman-e-Hind, Awadh
Kothi 3. Raja Maheshwar Dayal Sahib
Kothi 4. Raja Sahib, Balrampur
Kothi 5. Bhaiyya Jadish Dutt
Kothi 6. Bhaiyya Chandrabhan Dutt Ram and Rani Jamwanti, *Taluqdar* Singha, Chanda and Ramnagar
Kothi 7. His Highness Maharaja Kapoorthala

Kothi 8. Thakur Jai Indra Bahadur Singh, *Taluqdar*, Maheba. This house was bought by Chaudhry Nusrat Ali Sahib, the Assistant Secretary, Anjuman from the Government, whose heirs sold it to Rani Kamar Jamani Begum and is now in possession of her heirs.
Kothi 9. Syyed Aizzaz Rasool Sahib, *Taluqdar*, Jalalpur
Kothi 10. Syyed Sajid Hussein Sahib, *Taluqdar* Kotwara

The Southern Line

Kothi 11. Chaudhary Akbar Hussein Sahib *Taluqdar* Ghazipur
Kothi 12. Heirs of Raja Durga Prasad Sahib, *Taluqdar* Sarwaan Bada Gaon who are not *Taluqdars* now.
Kothi 13. Chaudhary Mujtaba Hussein Sahib, *Taluqdar* Subeha
Kothi 14. Maharani Surat Kunwar Sahiba, *Taluqdar* Singhai
Kothi 15. Rani Sahiba Kuruwara
Kothi 16. Rani Sahiba Rauni
Kothi 17. Raja Sahib Mankapur
Kothi 18. Raja Bahadur Tiloi
Kothi 19. Lala Prag Narayan Sahib, *Taluqdar* Bhajupur.

The Western Line

Kothi 20. Rani Sahiba Belhara
Kothi 21. Babu Gokulchand Sahib
Kothi 22. Banu Yaseen Ali Khan Sahib, *Taluqdar*, Devgaon
Kothi 23. Raja Sahib Salimpur
Kothi 24. Riyasat Bhatwamau
Kothi 25. Raja Sahib Mahmudabad
Kothi 26. Raja Sahib Oyal

(Ali 2012a)

APPENDIX J : THE CROWN GRANTS ACT

Act No. XV of 1895

Passed by the Governor General of India in Council

(Received the assent of the Governor General on 10th October 1895)

An Act to explain the Transfer of Property Act 1882, so far as it relates to grants of the Crown, and to remove certain doubts as to powers of the Crown, in relation to such grants.

WHEREAS doubts have arisen as to the extent and operation of the Transfer of Property Act 1882, and as to the power of the Crown to impose limitations and restrictions on such grants and other transfer of land made by it, or under its authority, and it is expedient to remove such doubts; it is hereby enacted as follows:

1. (1) This Act may be called The Crown Grants Title extent and commencement Act 1895.

(2) It extends to whole of British India

(3) It shall come into force at once

The Transfer of Property Act 1882 not to apply to Crown Grants

2. Nothing in the Transfer of Property Act 1882 contained shall apply or deemed to ever have applied to any grant or other transfer of land or of any interest therein heretofore made or hereafter to be made by or on behalf of Her Majesty the Queen Empress, her heirs or successors, or by or on behalf of the Secretary of State of India in Council to, or in favor of any person whomsoever; but every such grant or transfer shall be construed and take effect as if the said Act has not been passed.

Crown Grants to take effect according to their tenor.

3. All provisions, restrictions, conditions and limitations ever contained in such grant or transfer as to aforesaid shall be valid, and take effect according to their tenor, any rule of law, statute or enactment of the legislature to the contrary notwithstanding.

See Notes 7 and 8 to Section 3 of the Oudh Estates Act.

Where with regard to the question of custom as to succession, the decision of the judicial commissioners was based on certain instances in which the members of certain family were succeeded by their widows; but all these instances with one exception,

occurred before the forfeiture of the estate in 1856 and the grant of a new title upon the conditions laid down in the *sanad* under which the succession was governed by primogeniture it was held that the instances in which the widows succeeded cannot be used to set up a rule of succession directly contrary to the terms of the *sanad* under which the estate is now held[138].

Kaiserbagh houses: with the object of providing town house for the various *taluqdars* of Oudh, the government in 1861 granted all houses situated at the Kaiserbagh Palace in the city of Lucknow to all the various *taluqdars* of Oudh, by means of a general *sanad* issued by the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, on certain conditions, one of which was, that no *taluqdar* should transfer any share in the building and appurtances thereto to anyone who is not a *taluqdar* or the heir to a taluqa, and that in case of breach of any of the above conditions, the grant shall be resumed, it has been held:-

1. That the expression 'heir to a taluqa', as used in the *sanad*, means the heir apparent to such person as was then regarded as *taluqdar* and since the general *sanad* was issued before the Oudh Estates Act X of 1869 came into force, the word '*taluqdar*' should not be given the restricted meaning of a person entered in one of the lists prepared under Section 8 of the Oudh Estates Act. In the years prior to 1869 it can only have been used in the general sense in which it is commonly used today, namely, the owner of a 'taluqa'. Before 1869 'taluqa' must have been an estate which had been forfeited by the Government and which was given back to the landowners at the Settlement and therefore a condition contained in the general grant was that the transfer could only be made by the grantee in favor of a another person similarly situated as himself or in favor of his own heir apparent or the heir apparent of such other persons. Any alienation, to a non *taluqdar*, be it by gift or otherwise, is forbidden
2. That the object of the Government being to provide town houses for the various *Taluqdars* of Oudh, it was more or less immaterial to Government which particular family held the house, the real object is that the '*taluqdars*' should hold them and not other members of the *taluqdars* families, in other words, these houses were to go to a taluqa as an appurtenance thereto. But it does not follow that such Kaiserbagh houses became an integral part of the *taluqdars* estate to which the Oudh Estate Act applied. That Estate is defined in Section 2 of the Oudh Estates Act and is composed of the taluqa or immoveable property acquired or held by a *taluqdar* or grantee in the manner mentioned in Section 3, section 4 or section 5 and the other immoveable property in respect of which a *taluqdar* or grantee or his heirs or legatees or a transferee referred to in section 14, has a separate, permanent, heritable and transferable right, and in respect of

[138] Badrinarain Singh VS Hernes Kuar 6 IC 1000 9 0 L.I. 426; 49 I.4.276; 25 O.C.313; 1922 P88, 259

which he has made a declaration in accordance with the section 32 A of the Act. These houses have not been acquired in the manner mentioned in Section 3, section 4 or section 5 nor has any declaration been made in accordance with the provisions of section 32A of the Oudh Estates Act. Further the Act contains provisions as to the power of transfer of an 'estate' within the meaning of the Act which would be in conflict with the limitations contained in the general *sanad* issued about these Kaiserbagh houses, and the whole purpose of the grant would be defeated if transfers could be made of these houses as can be made of the *taluqdar*i estate. Under the general *sanad* these house follow the taluqa and any transfer or bequest of such a house which would have the result of putting the taluqa and house into different hands would be violation of the limitation on the power of transfer which formed an essential part of the grant [139].

3. That all that section 3 of the Crown Grants Act means that the Crown is entitled to put such conditions in a grant which a private individual could not, but the only advantage to the grantee is that the grant to him is not invalid if given by the Crown when it might be invalid if given by an individual.

(Asheesh Srivastava 2012a)

[139] Raza Husaini Khan and others VS Sayyed Muhammed and another 1938 O.N.462 1938 O.175

APPENDIX K : QAISERBAGH DEED

THIS INDENTURE made the day of _____ 1935

BETWEEN _____
son of _____
resident of _____
(herein after called the 'grantee') of the one part AND the secretary of State for India in Council (hereinafter called the "Secretary of State" of the other part).

Whereas in the year 1861 all houses situated in the Qaiserbagh palace in the city of Lucknow were granted by the Government to the various *Taluqdars* of Oudh by means of a general *sanad* issued by the Chief Commissioner of Oudh on the conditions that they kept and preserved the said Qaiserbagh Palace, gardens and lands in thorough repairs, maintained the right of way then existing through the said premises and abided by municipal rules which the Municipal Board might pass from time to time for the city of Lucknow; that no *Taluqdar* should transfer any share in the building and appurtenances thereto to any one not a *Taluqdar* or the heir to a Taluqa, and that in case of breach of any of the above conditions the grant should be resumed;

AND WHEREAS under this grant the *taluqdars* of Oudh took and occupied separately the various houses in the said palace of Qaiserbagh and they and their successors-in-title have been holding the said conditions, but individual *sanad*s were not issued to all of them and it is not now known which of the *Taluqdars* had actually obtained individual *sanad*s and which not;

AND WHEREAS the house, garden and land described in the schedule thereto is part of the said Qaiserbagh palace and has been held by the grantee and his ancestors under the said grant from the British government on the aforesaid conditions;

AND WHEREAS as doubts have recently arisen in some cases as to the exact rights and titles of the person holding the houses in the said Qaiserbagh palace the parties hereto have in order to set at rest any uncertainty regarding the grantee's title and to void all future disputes agreed to make a declaration of the right and title of the grantee to the said house.

NOW THIS INDENTURE WITNESSES as follows:

1. The Secretary of the State hereby confirms the grant hereinbefore referred to made by the British Government in 1861 in respect of the house, garden and land described in the schedule hereto in favor of the predecessor in title of the grantee and hereby covenants that the grantee, his successors and permitted assigns may hold the said house as a grantee peaceably and without an interruption by the

Secretary of State or any one on his behalf so long as they duly observe the hereinafter recited conditions of the said grant.

2. The grantee hereby admits and declares that he holds the house, garden and lands described in the schedule hereto under a grant by the British Government on the following conditions and that he and his successors and permitted assigns will always hold the same as grantee on the said conditions in which the word “grantee” where necessary shall be read as including his successors and permitted assigns.
    a. That the grantee shall always keep and preserve the said houses, garden and lands in through repairs.
    b. That the grantee shall maintain the right of way now existing through the said premises.
    c. That for the upkeep of the grounds, lawns, gardens and roads in the courtyard of the Qaiserbagh palace which do not appertain to any particular house and which are at present under the charge and management of the British Indian Association, the grantee will make and continue to make such contribution to the said Association as they said Association may determine, and in the event of the Secretary of State resuming control of the said grounds, lawns, gardens and roads from the said Association, will make such contribution to the Government of any officer of any person to whom the control of the said grounds, lawn, gardens and road may for the time be made over by the Government as the Government or such Officer or person may determine.
    d. That the grantee shall abide by all municipal rules which may from time to time be passed and which may be applicable to the said house or its occupant.
    e. That the grantee shall not transfer the said house or anything appurtenant thereto to any one not a *Taluqdar* or the heir to a taluqa.
    f. That is the grantee be guilty of a breach of any of the above conditions, the Secretary of State may resume the said grant and take possession of the said house, gardens, land and other things appurtenant thereto and the grantee shall not be entitled to any compensation whatsoever.
3. The Parties hereby agree that any stamp duty payable in respect of this deed shall be paid by the Secretary of State.

Signed.

(Government of United Provinces 1933)

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